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BEGUN IN 1858

6 September, 1901.

New Curiosities of Literature.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

Curiosities of Literature.

BY

I. D'ISRAELI, ESQ.,

DOCTOR IN CIVIL LAW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

Illustrated

BY

BOLTON CORNEY, ESQ.,

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF CRITICISM IN THE *RÉPUBLIQUE DES LETTRES*,
AND MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ENGLISH BIBLIOPHILES.

“ Popular as D'ISRAELI is, I do not think he has ever obtained from criticism a fair acknowledgment of the *eminent station* he is entitled to claim.”—E. L. BULWER, Esq., M.P.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ACUMINATED.

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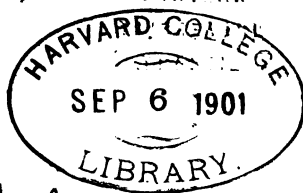
Ideas on Controversy :

*Deduced from the practice of a Veteran ; and adapted to
the meanest capacity.*

LONDON :

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1838.

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P R E F A C E.

THESE illustrations of the writings of Mr. D'Israeli, and of the school of literature to which he belongs, were privately circulated towards the close of the last year, as an experimental inquiry into the force of truth.¹

On the appearance of a *ninth* edition of the *Curiosities of Literature*²—a work which had left me rather pleasurable recollections—I was induced to renew my acquaintance with it; and, at every glance, detected some misrepresentation or error.

To correct the errors of a popular work is always desirable; and it may also be expedient to unveil the deception and conceit of its author. In conformity with such principles, these critical illustrations were composed. I do not more expressly advert to

¹ *Curiosities of Literature*, by I. D'Israeli, Esq., Doctor in Civil Law of the University of Oxford, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Illustrated by Bolton Corney, Esq., Honorary Professor of Criticism in the *République des Lettres*, and Member of the Society of English Bibliophiles. Greenwich [London: F. Shoberl, Junior.]: printed by especial command. Sm. 8vo. pp. viii + 160. ² *Curiosities of Literature*. By I. D'Israeli, Esq. D.C.L. F.S.A. Ninth edition, revised. London: Edward Moxon, 1834. Sm. 8vo. 6 vols.

motives — because I have dilated on that point, and on various important points of criticism and literature, in an *episode* which follows the series of articles.

An arid list of ERRATA would have failed to obtain the object in view. I resolved, therefore, to select from the numerous instances which I had noted, a very limited proportion; to admit no one which seemed unadapted to serve as the basis of an essay; to aim at variety of subject; and, as to form, at the attraction of novelty. Such was the plan of the work; and of its competent execution, I have received very gratifying testimonials.

It was my wish, on various accounts, to reprint the work for public use; but I chose to defer the execution of my project, in consequence of the announcement of an intended reply³ — which did not appear till four months after the transmission of my volume to Bradenham House. This reply, entitled *The Illustrator Illustrated*,⁴ would alone have led me to decide. I forbear to characterise the pamphlet. It may be sufficient to state that the author has omitted to *illustrate* the only instances of oversight which have been pointed out to me; and that his labours have not required me to suppress one line!

³ Athenæum, 27 January 1838. ⁴ The Illustrator Illustrated. By the author of the "Curiosities of Literature." London: Edward Moxon, 1838. 8vo. pp. iv + 81.

In this edition, some further evidence is produced on a contested point in the first article; in the second, the subject of which interests me, there are material improvements; and various additions are made to the twenty-fourth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth articles. The others have no alterations of importance; and some are reprinted *verbatim*. I have reviewed the pamphlet in notes, which are marked thus: * * * ; and have attempted the portraiture of a controversialist, in the *Ideas on Controversy*.

I certainly did not *affect, to spare* Mr. D'Israeli. Facts, supported by references to authorities, were the corrective instruments chiefly resorted to; but I rather freely availed myself of sarcasm and irony. The nature of his reply justifies me on every point; and proves that I had formed an accurate conception of his character.

It must be admitted that our essayist is not the *only* popular author whose writings call for critical examination; but I have vacated the chair of criticism—in opposition to very flattering solicitations. Fearless, as ever, of an encounter in vindication of truth and literature, I conceive that one enterprise of this description may be sufficient for an individual whose time is otherwise occupied; and who loves tranquillity.

I now cheerfully commit to men of letters, the appreciation of my motives and of my censures; and as my opponent has shown a disposition to leave me in possession of the last *argument*, withdraw from the controversy.

Bolton Corney.

GREENWICH,
31 July 1838.

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Curiosities of Literature

Illustrated.

ON the announcement of a new edition of the "CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE by I. D'Israeli, Esq., D. C. L. and F. S. A.," I felt an inclination to add the volumes to my cabinet collection.

To decide on the choice of authors for a small library is a task of considerable difficulty, and this difficulty increases in the proportion in which books multiply — a proportion which, whether it most resembles the arithmetical or the geometrical, is certainly sufficient to astound. The learned works of Sir Thomas-Pope Blount¹ and M. Baillet,² which were formerly resorted to as the accredited guides on such occasions, stand in need of recomposition; and the *Judgement of the learned upon English authours*, though not deemed too humble a project for one of the first of critics,³ is still a desideratum. Even Re-

¹ *Censura Celebriorum Authorum*, Londini, 1690. Fol.

² *Jugements des Savants*, Paris, 1722. 7 vol. In-4. ³ Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 1791. 4to. ii. 558.

views and Magazines, the usual sources of information as to the novelties of literature, seldom allot much space to new editions of established works — not to mention how small the share of confidence which can with safety be placed in the opinions of anonymous stipendiaries.

While in a state of suspense arising out of these circumstances, chance threw before me the *prospectus* of the work announced; ⁴ and, though experience whispered that a document of that description should be read with reserve, it was drawn up with such consummate art as to allay every suspicion — and to supersede further inquiry.

We were assured in this elaborate prospectus that Lord Byron had characterised D'Israeli as a "most entertaining and *researching* writer," and had read his works "*oftener than perhaps those of any other English author whatever*;" that Sir Walter Scott, whose praise alone gives the *entrée* to the court of Fame, had pronounced the work in question to be a "*lively* and popular miscellany;" not to repeat other laudatory scraps by writers of no less authority and influence than Moore, Southey, Bulwer, etc. It was also stated that the proposed edition would be the *ninth*; that the work was designed for those who "require the materials for knowledge, and for thinking, by the *readiest means*;" and that the purchasers of it would "PARTAKE OF THE UTILITY OF A PUBLIC LIBRARY." No further persuasion could have been requisite; but the table of contents was superadded,

⁴ London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, . 834. 4 leaves.

and seemed comparable, for the variety and presumed piquancy of its articles, to the *carte* of the renowned Véry himself.

The result of this accumulation of praise was answerable to the design of it. The volumes, as they were successively published,⁵ took their station on my shelves with due punctuality; and I should think myself deficient in candour and generous feeling if I did not avow the satisfaction with which I gazed on their comely *exteriors*—clothed, as they were, in all the luxury of oriental splendour, in fine linen, and in purple, and in gold! Anticipating the pleasure to be derived from their contents, it required no effort of sensibility to address them in some impassioned lines, which I formerly *discovered* while prosecuting my studies in a certain Institution in Albemarle-street, and which had fixed themselves in my memory as an exquisite imitation of Ambrose Philips:—

“ GOLDEN volumes! *richest treasures!*
Objects of *delicious pleasures!*
You, my eyes *rejoicing please,*
You, my hands *in rapture seize!*”⁶

To such innocent coquetry, however, my acquaintance with the comely volumes was at that period limited. Ardent and sincere as is my attachment to literature, without some *special* stimulative I aspire not to the name of a student during the summer season. To decline the invitation which munificent Na-

⁵ 1st March—1st August, 1834. ⁶ D'Israeli —e *Rantzovio?* Cat. Royal Inst., 1821. 8vo. p. xx. + *Curiosities of Literature*, i. 7.

ture then holds out, is no part of philosophy; and to *me* this invitation of Nature is scarcely resistible when it presents itself, as it not infrequently does, shaped into *immortal verse* by one of her own true sons — the amiable Beattie : —

“ O how canst thou renounce the boundless store
Of charms which Nature to her votary yields?
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields.”⁷

It will excite no surprise if, under the influence of such sentiments, I determined to reserve the *lively miscellany* as an antidote to the gloom of November; but the sun of summer shone throughout that month, an instance of ultra-felicity without parallel. It was not, therefore, till December that I read the volumes, even CURSORILY; and, from the intervention of more imperative occupations, it was not till time had almost completed another annual revolution that I could undertake to read them CRITICALLY.

In the interval of those periods I was nominated to the chair of Honorary Professor of Criticism in the *République des Lettres* — an appointment the more gratifying to me, as I entertained feelings approaching to veneration for certain members of that ancient Fraternity. The first resolution which I formed after the acceptance of office was to avoid the appellation of a sinecurist; and the first care which occupied me was that of selecting a work on which to exercise my official functions — a work on which I could express the dictates of truth with some prospect of benefit to

⁷ Minstrel, 1784. 8vo. stanza ix.

the public, and with the least injury possible to the author. The CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE proved well suited to the purpose. On a cursory perusal I had noticed *discoveries* which the incurious public seemed to overlook — extraordinary art bestowed on the embellishment of facts — a rich display of epigrammatic smartness, etc.; and I eventually became convinced that the work would never be correctly appreciated without the aid of critical illustration. I considered, on the other hand, that if I should fail to preserve the *juste milieu* of criticism; that if in the exuberance of my sensibility to the charms of ornate composition I should praise to excess, or through inexperience in the perilous career before me should censure with undue severity, (the Scylla and Charybdis of that tempestuous sea on which I was about to embark,) no injury could ensue to the cause of literature, or to the author. This assertion, I admit, involves a paradox — but the *lively* D'Israeli shall explain it. “*Praise*,” he avers, “*cannot any longer extend his celebrity, and censure cannot condemn what has won the reward of public favour.*”⁸ Another circumstance influenced my choice. It is one of the *calamities of authors* to be sometimes compelled to expunge or modify their statements in obedience to the decisions of critics — a calamity to which it must be painful to contribute. Now, the *lively* author seems to hint that nothing would induce him to *alter one sentence of what he has written*!⁹

I could here dilate with feeling on the difficulties of criticism, which have seated themselves in my

⁸ Cur. Lit., i. vii. ⁹ C. L., iv. 361, v. 239, etc.

CHAIR like the ghost of Banquo; but it would not become me to imitate the current practice of reviewing the notions of the reviewer, instead of reviewing the work proposed to be reviewed¹⁰ — a practice for which I find no authority in my Critical Code. I shall therefore proceed to close this exordium; and if I leave it to the sagacity of the reader to decide whether it be a narrative of *facts*, or a mixture of *fact* and *fiction* — whether a fragment of some *historical novel*, or a specimen of the *romance of history* — I do so in full confidence that the numberless admirers of the two latter species of composition can distinguish between *fact* and *fiction* AT A GLANCE! — It remains for me to declare to those to whom *these presents shall come greeting*, with what profound humility I survey my attempts at illustration; and to conjure them to accept what I have to offer, as a mere *coup d'avant* to the banquet which the ATHE-
NÆUS OF OUR AGE¹¹ has so handsomely provided.

ART. I.—The *original* Ms. of the Code of Justinian *discovered* by I. D'Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.

“The original manuscript of Justinian's code was discovered by the Pisans, accidentally, when they took a city in Calabria; that vast code of laws had been in a manner unknown from the time of that emperor. This curious book was brought to Pisa; and when Pisa was taken by the Florentines, was transferred to Florence, where it is still preserved.”—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

¹⁰ Edinburgh Review, 1802-36, *sparsim*. + Quarterly Review, 1809-36, *sparsim*. ¹¹ Mitford, Prospectus, C.L. ¹ C. L. i. 29.

It is not my intention to engage in the wars between the Pisans and the Florentines. The enterprise before me is of a less hazardous nature. I am about to search after the original Ms. of the Code of Justinian, and to discuss the early history of the civil law.

These are not points of mere professional interest. Blackstone, the encomiast of our own laws, describes an acquaintance with the civil law as an "ornament to the scholar, the divine, the statesman;"² and Sir William Jones, whose comprehensive mind embraced all the juridical wisdom of the West and of the East, declares it to be "the true source of nearly all our English laws, that are not of a feudal origin."³

I shall premise for the information of the uninitiated, whether graduates in civil law or otherwise, that the *CORPUS JURIS ROMANO-CIVILIS*, or collection of Roman civil law, consists of four parts; namely, the *Institutes* in four books, the *Pandects* in fifty books, the Code in twelve books, and the *Novels*, or later edicts, etc.⁴

D'Israeli asserts that the Ms. of the CODE of Justinian was discovered by the Pisans.—Now, the Ms. obtained by the Pisans at the sack of Amalfi in 1135,⁵ the event to which he obscurely alludes, was a Ms. of the *Pandects*.⁶ Whether, therefore, we take the word code in its peculiar sense as used by civilians, or in its extended sense, the assertion is manifestly erroneous.

Not more tenable is the assertion that the Florentine

² Discourse on Law, Oxford, 1758. 4to. p. 3. ³ Memoirs, etc. 1804. 4to. p. 308. ⁴ Corpus Juris Civilis, Amstelodami, 1663. Fol.

⁵ Pignotti, Hist. of Tuscany, 1823. 8vo. i. 284, ii. 90.

⁶ Brenemann's Historia Pandectarum, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722. 4to. p. 2.

Ms. is *the original*.—Torrentino, indeed, when about to publish the text of this Ms., represented to Henry II. of France that he had recovered "*les urays tippes et originaulx des Pandectes*;"⁷ but the learned Torelli, who edited the volume in 1553, made no such claim for its prototype.⁸ The very remote antiquity of this precious Ms. is incontrovertible. Mabillon and Fontanini believed it to be of the *sixth* century;⁹ while the Mss. of the Pandects, which are preserved in the richest cisalpine depositaries, are chiefly of the fourteenth century.¹⁰ Breneman, however, denies its originality;¹¹ and thus writes the learned Charles Butler: "Some have supposed that the Florentine manuscript is the autograph of the Pandects; for this opinion there is *no real ground or authority*."¹²

D'Israeli further asserts, *that vast code of laws had been in a manner unknown from the time of that emperor [Justinian]*.—Sir James Mackintosh an observant student on such topics, assures us that "*the Roman law never lost its authority in the countries which formed the western empire*."¹³ Without much inclination to dive into the histories of the Lombards, the Franks, the Visigoths, etc., I shall endeavour to establish the correctness of this latter statement. It should be remembered that Justinian died in 565, and that the sack of Amalfi took place in 1135. About the year 560 we find the validity of the Roman

⁷ *Digestorum libri L.*, Florentiae, 1553. Fol. Sig. † ii. ⁸ *Ibid.* Lectt. ⁹ Brenemanni H. P., p. 11. ¹⁰ Haenel, *Catt. Librorum Mss. Galliae*, etc. Lipsiae, 1830. 4to. pp. 32, 261, 403, 485, 950, 991, etc. ¹¹ H. P., p. 8. ¹² *Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ*, 1804. 8vo. p. 63. ¹³ *Hist. of England*, 1830. Sm. 8vo. i. 172.

law declared by Clotaire I., King of the Franks;¹⁴ and about 660 its continued validity is proved by the curious formulary of Marculfe.¹⁵ Soon after that period Aldhelm, the father of men of letters in England, enumerating to Hedda, a prelate of note, the sciences which occupied his time in the school at Canterbury, mentions the *Roman jurisprudence*.¹⁶ We shall now leave Canterbury, and re-cross the straits of Dover. Between 712-44 Luitprand, King of the Lombards, a judicious legislative reformist, declared the *exclusive validity of the Lombardic and Roman laws*.¹⁷ About a century later Charlemagne and Louis-le-Débonnaire expressly declared, in various capitularies, the validity of the Roman law;¹⁸ and an edict of Charles-le-Chauve, dated in 864, contains the very remarkable declaration that the *validity of the Roman law was never impaired by legislative enactment*.¹⁹ In 962, in 1014, etc. we find the Roman law cited as authoritative;²⁰ and in 1102 Irnerio expounded it at Bologna²¹—which city afterwards became the most celebrated school of jurisprudence in Europe.²² In civil law, two witnesses make a PROBATIO PLENA; and I have produced more than thrice that number. Sir James Mackintosh, however, shall be heard once more. “It was indeed,” says that learned JURIS UTRISQUE DOCTOR, “a most

¹⁴ C. von Savigny, *Hist. of the Roman Law*, by E. Cathcart, Edinb., 1829. 8vo. i. 110. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* i. 111. + Poncelet, *Biog. Univ.*, xxvi. 622. ¹⁶ Henry, *Hist. of Great Britain*, 1788-95. 8vo. iv. 14. + Broughton, *Biog. Brit.*, pp. 91-2. ¹⁷ Savigny, *H. R. L.*, i. 114. + Sismondi, *Biog. Univ.*, xxv. 408-9. ¹⁸ Savigny, *H. R. L.*, i. 111. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* i. 161. ²⁰ *Ibid.* i. 147, 152. ²¹ Pignotti, *H. T.*, ii. 92. ²² *Ibid.* ii. 87.

improbable supposition, that a manuscript found at the sack of Amalfi, and not adopted by public authority, should suddenly prevail over all other laws in the greater part of Europe."²³

I shall now pass sentence. That a D. C. L. and F. S. A. should confound the *Code* of Justinian with the *Pandects*; that he should have so imperfect an acquaintance with the rules of evidence as to pronounce the Florentine Ms. to be *the original*; that he should describe the Roman law as *in a manner unknown* while it prevailed over a considerable portion of Europe; are circumstances which, subject to the right of appeal, are henceforth to be numbered with the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * Our new Illustrator clings to his D.C.L.—He admits his error as to the *contents* of the Florentine Ms.—an error which he discovered on the arrival of my volume at Bradenham House—but thinks it “may be fairly styled *an original*.” I cannot concede even that point, for a doubtful circumstance should never be stated positively. He intimates that I was not aware of the distinction between the *laws of Justinian* and the *Roman law*. The distinction is perfectly obvious; but I could not argue on the *code*, which is not contained in the Florentine Ms.—nor on the *pandects*, which he had not mentioned. I undertook, therefore, to prove the continued validity of the *Roman law*. He asks, “Who denies it?” I answer, it was generally denied till the *late researches* of Savigny—which,

²³ H.E., i. 173.

as Sir James Mackintosh declares, "*have merited the gratitude of Europe.*" He states that I had claimed a *profound acquaintance* with the civil law! This is one of his convenient fictions. No such acquaintance was claimed—nor was it requisite, to enable me to cope with *such* an opponent.

ART. II.—The Bayeux Tapestry, and the royal operative—a *splendid flim-flam*!¹

"*Otho [Odon], the bishop at the Norman invasion, in the tapestry worked by Matilda the queen of William the Conqueror, is represented with a mace in his hand, for the purpose, that when he despatched his antagonist he might not spill blood, but only break his bones! Religion has had her quibbles as well as law.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.²

The Bayeux Tapestry, as we denominate it, is a piece of *hanging* which belongs to the cathedral church of Bayeux. Its origin has not been ascertained; but it is, undeniably, the most ancient monument of its class in existence.

This extraordinary relic of imitative art represents the conquest of England by William, Duke of Normandy, in the year 1066. It is worked with coloured worsted on a brownish linen cloth; and is nine-

¹ The author intends to re-examine his collections on the Bayeux Tapestry, and to methodise the results. He proposes to consider its history, the scenes which it represents, the tradition attached to it, and the evidence of its origin. He is gratified by the approbation bestowed on his first essay—which has been translated into French by M. Jubinal.

² C. L., i. 246.

teen inches in height by about *two hundred and twenty-six feet* in length, without seam. One third of the height is chiefly occupied by borders. The tale is told in a succession of scenes, which commence with the departure of Harold from the court of Edward, and terminate with the battle of Hastings. The scenes are divided as in ancient sculpture, and the subject of each scene is indicated by a short Latin inscription. The colours are not *proper*; but are so varied as to answer the purpose of light and shade.³

The public are indebted to the zeal and liberality of the Society of Antiquaries of London for the best engraved copy of this Tapestry. In 1816 they deputed the admirable Charles Stothard to make drawings of it,⁴ and he laid the entire series before the Society in 1819.⁵ The engravings, which united would extend nearly seventy feet, are executed by Basire; are coloured in imitation of the Tapestry; and form the most curious and attractive portion of the *VETVSTA MONUMENTA*.⁶ The intended letter-press, however, has not made its appearance! Surely with our venerable *Saxon Chronicle*, and our *Domesday-Book*; with the prose of Guillaume de Poitiers, Guillaume de Jumièges, Ingulph, Eadmer, Orderic Vital, and William of Malmsbury; with the verse of Guy of

³ The Tapestry of Bayeux. C. A. Stothard del. J. Basire sculp. 17 folio plates. 1819-23. + Hudson Gurney, *Archaeologia*, xviii. 359, etc. ⁴ Mrs. C. S., *Memoirs of C. A. Stothard*, 1823. 8vo. p. 218. ⁵ C. A. S., *Archaeologia*, xix. 184. ⁶ *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, drawn and engraved by M. Sansonetti, has recently appeared at Paris in 24 folio plates. The *scale* is that of Mr. Stothard.

Amiens, Geoffroy Gaimar, Benoît de Sainte-More, and *Mestre Wace*; and with all the aids to be derived from ancient laws, charters, and deeds — from architectural remains, monumental effigies, coins, seals, illuminations, etc. — a satisfactory description of it would be practicable.

To obviate further delay, I advise the appointment of a committee for the purpose; and shall propose as members Thomas Amyot, Esq., Sir Henry Ellis, Alfred John Kempe, Esq., Sir Frederic Madden, and Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick—with M. Floquet of Rouen as *correspondant pour l'ancienne province de Normandie*.

In the interim, I shall undertake an examination of the tradition which ascribes the Tapestry to Queen Matilda; advert to the internal evidence of its antiquity; submit a new conjecture on its origin; and conclude with an illustration of the martial achievement of Bishop Odon.

M. l'Abbé de la Rue, *Chanoine Honoraire de Bayeux*, assures us that the Tapestry is first mentioned in an inventory of the treasures of the church in 1369; and that the item contains no allusion to Matilda.⁷

The existence of the Tapestry in 1476 is proved by an inventory of that date, on which we possess more circumstantial information. I shall transcribe the preamble of it, and the item in question:—

“Inventaire des joyaulx, capses, reliquairs, ornemens, tentes, paremens, livres, & autres biens appartenans à l'Église Nostre-

⁷ Recherches sur la Tapisserie de Bayeux, Caen, 1824. In-4. pp. 44, 48.

Dame de Bayeux ; & en icelle trouvés, veus & visités par venerables & discrettes personnes Maistre Guillaume de Castillon Archidiacre des Vetz, & Nicole Michiel Fabriquier, Chanoines de ladite Église, à ce députez & commis en Chapitre general de ladite Église, tenu & célébré après la Feste de Saint Ravent & Sainet Rasiph en l'an mil quatre cent septante six, Tres Reverend Pere en Dieu Mons. Loys de Harecourt Patriarche de Jerusalem lors Évêque, &c.

Ensuivent pour le quint Chapitre les tentes, tapis, cortines, paremens des Autels & autres draps de saye pour parer le cueur aux Festes Solennelles, trouvés & gardés en revestiaire de ladicte Église.

Item. Une tente très longue & étroite de telle à broderie de ymages & escripteaulx [escripteaulx ?] faisans representation du Conquest d'Angleterre, laquelle est tendue environ la nef de l'Église le jour & par les octaves des Reliques."⁸

This inventory was drawn up with extreme care ; the compilation of it occupying several days. The Canons state that they wrote it in French "*pour plus claire & familiere designation desdits joyaulx, ornemens & autres biens & de LEURS CIRCONSTANCES ;*" and such, we may be sure, were their instructions. In conformity with their plan of recording the *circumstances* of the various articles, they describe "*deux tentes de laine batues à fil d'or,*" as the "*don du patriarche de Jérusalem ;*" they describe "*ung mantel duquel, comme on dit, le Duc Guillaume estoit vestu quand il épousa la Ducesse ;*" and they describe "*ung autre mantel duquel, comme l'en dit, la Ducesse estoit vestue quand elle épousa le Duc Guillaume.*" Thus it appears that MM. les Chanoines, not satis-

⁸ Lancelot, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions, viii. 603-4.

fied with recording facts, record even traditions of the credibility of which, as *venerables et discrettes personnes*, they felt bound to intimate their suspicions — yet, dear as was the memory of William and Matilda, are silent on the asserted tradition when they describe an article of so much interest as the *tente du conquest d'Angleterre*! In accordance with the soundest principles of criticism, it may be concluded that no such tradition then existed.

We must pass over two centuries and a half before we can obtain a second glimpse of the Tapestry. In 1562 the Calvinists committed the most lamentable devastations in the cathedral of Bayeux. The Bishop, in his report on the occasion, mentioned the preservation of some tapestry, and the loss of “une tapisserie de grande valeur”—but did not allude to the Tapestry in question.⁹ In 1588 De Bourgueville gave a description of the cathedral of Bayeux; its curious central tower, its lofty spires, its flying buttresses, its matchless clock, and musical chimes—but did not allude to the Tapestry.¹⁰ In 1631 Du Moulin,¹¹ and in 1646 D'Anneville,¹² both Normans, chronicled the conquest of England—without alluding to the Tapestry; and M. de la Rue declares that he had read over the immense collections on the ecclesiastical and literary antiquities of Normandy formed by Du Monstier, who died in 1662, without discovering the least trace of it.¹³ In 1705 Hermant, *Curé de*

⁹ M. Beziers, Hist. Sommaire de Bayeux, Caen, 1773. In-12. p. 3, etc.

¹⁰ Recherches des Antiquitez de Neustrie, Caen, 1588. In-4. p. 56.

¹¹ Hist. de Normandie, Rouen, 1631. In-fol. pp. 163-92.

¹² Inventaire de l'Hist. de Normandie. Rouen, 1646. In-4. pp. 64-70.

¹³ R. T. B., p. 51

Maltot, who wrote at the command of the Bishop of Bayeux, published a portion of the history of that diocese.¹⁴ He pointed out that we were indebted to Wace for some remarkable particulars relative to the expedition of William;¹⁵ furnished a very ample account of Odon;¹⁶ noticed the *Jour des Reliques qui tombe toujours le premier jour de Juillet*;¹⁷ and even cited various precious articles from the inventory of 1476¹⁸—but *did not allude to the Tapestry*! It would be difficult to account for the silence of these writers, if we assume the existence of the tradition within the period.

On the death of M. Foucault in 1721, a drawing of near forty feet of the Tapestry was found in his collection. It became the property of M. de Boze, who was well qualified to appreciate it; but made it over to M. Lancelot.¹⁹ M. Foucault had been *Intendant de la généralité de Caen*—apparently in the years 1688-1704. He was an active and sagacious antiquary: “Il luy est arrivé plus d’une fois,” writes M. de Boze, “d’apprendre aux habitants d’une ville ou d’une province, qu’ils possédoient des monuments singuliers, ausquels ils ne faisoient aucune attention.”²⁰ M. Lancelot was a perfect enthusiast in research—the very model of an antiquary: “personne ne l’égalait,” says the same estimable writer, “pour l’exactitude des dates, & le détail des circonstances de tous les évènements publics ou particuliers.”²¹ But M. Foucault missed the honor of having

¹⁴ Histoire du diocèse de Bayeux, Caen, 1705. In.-4.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 196.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 130-50.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 194.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 352.

¹⁹ M. A. I. vi. 739.

²⁰ Ibid. v. 401.

²¹ Ibid. xvi. 268.

pointed out the value of this *monument singulier* ; and M. Lancelot, when he composed an academical memoir on the drawing in 1724, had not ascertained whether it represented a basso-relievo, or a fresco, or stained glass, or tapestry — or where the monument itself was preserved.²²

Father Montfaucon, who had composed an explanation of the same fragment, was more successful. About the year 1728, he obtained from Bayeux the information which he so ardently desired ; and despatched M. Antoine Benoît to make a drawing of the entire Tapestry, with directions *de ne rien changer dans le goût de la peinture*.²³ M. Lancelot, on receiving information of the discovery, secured a qualified correspondent at Bayeux ; and both the antiquaries completed their learned illustrations in 1730.²⁴

It is now obvious that we must have recourse to Father Montfaucon and M. Lancelot for the *earliest* statements of the *tradition* — statements not recorded till more than *six centuries* after the conquest ; and as tradition is the *only* authority for the ascription of the Tapestry to Matilda, it becomes us to examine the statements in question attentively — and to endeavour to form a just estimate of their credibility. I shall transcribe them verbatim ; with the addition of that of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, who cites as his vouchers the French antiquaries :—

“ *L'opinion commune à Bayeux est, que ce fut la Reine Mathilde femme de Guillaume le Conquerant, qui la fit faire.* [savoir,

²² Ibid. vi. 739.

²³ Monumens de la Monarchie Française,

i. 371, ii. 2.

²⁴ Ibid. ii. 1, etc. + M. A. I., viii. 602, etc.

la tapisserie.] Cette opinion qui *passé pour une tradition* dans le pays, n'a rien que de *fort vraisemblable*."

Dom Bernard de Montfaucon—1730.²⁵

"La même *tradition* qui a donné à ce monument le nom de Toilette du Duc Guillaume, *veut aussi que ce soit Mathilde ou Mahaut de Flandres, Reine d'Angleterre Duchesse de Normandie, femme de ce Prince, qui l'ait tissée elle-même avec ses femmes*."

M. Lancelot—1730.²⁶

"The Conquest of England by William the Norman . . . was, by *command* of queen Matilda, *represented in painting*; and afterwards, by *her own hands and the assistance of the ladies of her court*, worked in arras, and *presented* to the cathedral at Bayeux, [sic] where it is still preserved."

Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Baronet, V.P.A.S. etc.—1770.²⁷

The juxtaposition of these extracts forms no contemptible illustration of the nature of *tradition*; of its curious transformations—and of the occasional rapidity of its growth. Father Montfaucon, be it observed, echoes the sentiments of the monks of Saint-Vigor, who could have no motive to undervalue the tradition; yet he expresses himself very cautiously. M. Lancelot, who wrote on the authority of his correspondent at Bayeux, is much more explicit. He informs us that the Tapestry was called *La Toilette du Duc Guillaume*—but speaks with no confidence of the *operative* ardour of Matilda. Now, it is certain that the inhabitants of Bayeux, at this very period, ascribed almost every monument of antiquity *au Duc Guillaume*.²⁸ I reluctantly criticise Sir Joseph Ayloffe—the able

²⁵ M. M. F., ii. 2. ²⁶ M. A. I., viii. 605. ²⁷ Archaeologia, iii. 186. ²⁸ F. Pluquet, Contes populaires de Bayeux, Rouen, 1834. In-8. p. 30.

Vice-President of our Society of Antiquaries; but it is unavoidable. Writing only forty years after Montfaucon and Lancelot, and citing no other authorities, he advances an assumption for every ten words in his paragraph!

The tradition as current about the year 1730, and its variations, have now been sufficiently discussed; but an apposite anecdote may not be unwelcome, after this argumentative detail. There remained at that period, in the Abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, a fresco portrait of William; which the monks, on the authority of *tradition*, believed to be coeval with that monarch: Father Montfaucon declared it to be of *later date by more than three centuries!*²⁹

On a review of this evidence, I am tempted to conclude with the learned historian and critic M. Daunou, "que l'opinion qu'on a conçue à Bayeux de l'origine de cette tapisserie, est, comme la plupart des traditions locales de cette espèce, *dénuée de tout fondement et incapable de supporter un examen sérieux.*"³⁰

The rejection of the tradition is no denial of the antiquity of the Tapestry; and we may therefore advert to the question of its internal evidence. M. Lancelot pronounced it to be coeval with the conquest *before he was aware of the tradition*: "habits, armes, caractères de lettres, ornements, goût dans les figures représentées, tout," says that experienced antiquary, "sent le siècle de Guillaume le Conquérant, ou celui de ses enfants."³¹ Mr. Hud-

²⁹ M. M. F., i. 402.

³⁰ Journal des Savans, 1826. p. 698.

³¹ M. A. I., vi. 755.

son Gurney,³² Mr. Stothard,³³ and M. Delauney,³⁴ have expressed similar opinions. This point requires considerate examination. Propriety of costume is not always decisive of the coeval execution of a monument. It may have been the result of *choice*, or of the propensity of inferior artists to copy the works of their predecessors. Before we subscribe to the opinion of M. Lancelot, it should be made evident that the costume of the Tapestry is *exclusively* that of the period to which it relates, and that the artist represented the costume of his own times. Now, we cannot decide on the correctness of the costume of the monument without the means of comparison — which we very imperfectly possess ; but its partial conformity with the *illuminations* in the Ms. of Petro D'Ebulo—the resemblance of the casques and shields to those on the medals of the Norman conqueror of Sicily—the built of the vessels, with their steering paddles—the very sparing use of the chevron ornament—the absence of pointed architecture, of plate armour, and of armorial bearings—are no doubt remarkable indications of the antiquity assigned to it. On the other hand, if *illuminators* chiefly represented the costume of their own times,³⁵ (an argument relied on by some antiquaries in whose opinions it would give me pleasure to acquiesce,) I doubt if we should extend that conclusion to the *Tapestry*; in which instance the elaborate nature of the composition, and the intelligence contained in the

³² Archaeologia, xviii. 359-70.

³³ Ibid. xix. 184-91.

³⁴ Origine de la Tapisserie de Bayeux, Caen, 1824. In-4. p. 11.

³⁵ J. Strutt, Regal Antiquities, 1777. 4to. p. 5.

inscriptions, clearly point out the superintendence of some *learned person*—who most probably was qualified to direct the *operatives* as to the costume of the period. It is observable that Harold is called Dux previously to the scene of his coronation; afterwards, REX. William, whose coronation forms no part of the pictorial tale, is called Dux; never REX. This evinces a desire to avoid anachronisms—and is not erroneous costume an anachronism?

I have promised a NEW CONJECTURE on the origin of the Tapestry; and I venture to submit, in opposition to divers formidable chiefs of antiquarian lore, that it was executed *after the union of Normandy with France*—and *at the expense of the Chapter*.

Caradoc of Llancarvan,³⁶ and the Saxon annalists, describe William I. as the conqueror of England;³⁷ but he was too politic a prince to assume the title of the *Conqueror*³⁸—and in *Domesday-Book* it is constantly said of him, *postquam venit in Angliam*=after he came into England.³⁹ It seems, therefore, improbable that a monument of the conquest should be publicly exhibited. On the union of Normandy with France in 1204,⁴⁰ the impolicy of such an exhibition would cease; and the Tapestry must have gratified the Normans (which it still does) as a memorial of the prowess of their ancestors, and as an intimation of the importance of their province to

³⁶ The Historie of Cambria, 1584. 4to. p. 108.

³⁷ Saxon Chronicle, [by Anna Gurney] 1819. 8vo. pp. 209, 226, 239.

³⁸ Rep. on Public Records, 1800. Fol. App. A A.

³⁹ H. Ellis, Gen. Int. to Domesday-Book, 1817. 4to p. 169.

⁴⁰ Vide Depping, Hist. de la Normandie, Rouen, 1835. In-8. ii. 452, etc.

France. We will inquire how this notion accords with other circumstances. *Mestre Wace*, a Canon of Bayeux, who wrote a metrical account of the conquest about the year 1160,⁴¹ gives it as a *report* that Harold swore on the relics at Bayeux.⁴² In the TAPESTRY it is stated *positively*. If it had been in existence, could Wace have doubted its authority? This circumstance alone forcibly argues a posterior date; but other similar instances of discrepancy could be named. The cathedral of Bayeux was burned in 1160;⁴³ and Philippe de Harcourt, who then held the bishopric, expended immense sums in its restoration.⁴⁴ If the Tapestry had been acquired in his time, would not the *circonstance* have been stated in the inventory which was submitted to his descendant Louis de Harcourt? The successor of Philippe de Harcourt was Henry de Beaumont. He had held the deanery of Salisbury, and was an *Englishman*.⁴⁵ He certainly could not consider such a memorial as a suitable ornament to his church; and he filled the see till 1205—the period for which I contend as that of the *most remote antiquity of the Tapestry*.

If the Tapestry was executed *after the union of Normandy with France*, it is clear that the *deviser* endeavoured to preserve the costume which prevailed at the conquest; but oversights might be committed. Guillaume de Poitiers styles the combined invading army NORMANNI:⁴⁶ the Tapestry always has FRANCI.

⁴¹ Brial, Hist. Littéraire de la France, xiii. 518, etc. + Le Roman de Rou, Rouen, 1827. 2 vol. in-8. ii. 106, etc. ⁴² Ibid. ii. 113.

⁴³ De la Rue, R. T. B., p. 51.

⁴⁴ Hermant, H. D. B., p. 176.

⁴⁵ Hermant, H. D. B., p. 177. + Le Neve, Fasti E. A., 1716. Fol. p. 262.

⁴⁶ H. N. S. A., p. 201, etc.

I consider this as an oversight—and indicative of the period at which the monument was executed. If the *operatives* were ever allowed to act without control, I conceive it would be in the ornaments, and forms of the letters. Now, the *faibles* which occur in the borders are suspicious circumstances; but the letters afford more tangible evidence. They are unlike those on the seals of our Kings of the Norman line; ⁴⁷ but perfectly resemble those on the seal of Henry de Beaumont, and on various Norman seals of the *thirteenth* century.⁴⁸

Antiquaries of undisputed eminence — Montfaucon, Lancelot, Lethieullier, Ducarel, Visconti, De la Rue, Amyot, etc. — assume the Tapestry to have been a GIFT. — I believe it to have been *provided at the EXPENSE OF THE CHAPTER*; but, reserving for future exhibition the plans, elevations, sections, and details of this new edifice — I substitute a series of rude sketches of it.

Various circumstances tend to prove that the Tapestry was not a GIFT. 1. The inventories of 1369 and 1476 do not notice it as a *gift*; a *circumstance* which could scarcely have been omitted. 2. The monument itself contains no such indication. Now, the crown presented by Odon bore an inscription; the table presented by Louis de Harcourt bore an inscription; and the Tapestry presented by Leon Conseil contained his portrait.⁴⁹ 3. It has not the splendour of a gift. Crowns, crosses, shrines,

⁴⁷ Appendix to Reports on Records, 1819. Fol. No. 35, etc.

⁴⁸ Recueil de Sceaux Normands, Caen, 1834. Planche, iii. Nos. 4 & 5, etc. ⁴⁹ M. Beziers, H. S. B., pp. 39, 45, & Adv. 4.

chalices, etc. of gold and silver, and vestments embroidered in gold and silver, were the articles in request.⁵⁰ 4. It was even inferior to other articles of its class. It is said of *Dame* Leviet, embroiderer to William and Matilda, *facit aurifrisium*;⁵¹ and the *deux tentes* which Louis de Harcourt presented to his church were worked *à fil d'or*⁵²—but the *tente* in question is of the plainest materials. 5. The furniture of this description required in cathedrals and abbeys seems to have been usually provided at the cost of those establishments: the monks of Saint-Riquier received a piece of tapestry in feudal payment *annually*.⁵³ 6. If it had been a gift—if it had not been devised within the precincts of a church—it could not have escaped female influence: it could not have contained such indications of *celibatic* superintendence. It is not without its domestic and festive scenes; and comprises, exclusive of the borders, about *five hundred and thirty* figures—but in this number there are only *three* females!

I believe the Tapestry to have been *provided at the expense of the Chapter*—because it bears decided *marks of locality*. 1. The size of it denotes its special purpose. According to Ducarel, it reaches *exactly round the nave of the church of Bayeux*.⁵⁴ 2. The time of its exhibition has the same tendency. It was not exhibited on the anniversary of the death

⁵⁰ Saxon Chronicle, 1819. 8vo. pp. 210, 215, 271, etc.

⁵¹ Domesday-Book, 74 a 2.

⁵² De la Rue, R. T. B., p. 49.

⁵³ Bullet, Dissertations, Paris, 1171. In-12. p. 279.

⁵⁴ Anglo-Norman Antiquities. 1767. Fol. p. 79.

of William or Matilda, but on the *Jour des Reliques*—which it behoved the Chapter to celebrate with the utmost solemnity. Now Odon, in addition to the gigantic crown which adorned the *nave*, had presented the church with *several very valuable reliquaries*, which were preserved till the fatal year 1562;⁵⁵ and as Odon is conspicuous on the Tapestry, it was suitable to the occasion. 3. Two prelates accompanied the armament of William; Geoffroy, Bishop of Coutances — and Odon, Bishop of Bayeux.⁵⁶ Geoffroy, who was of noble family, and of vast property and influence,⁵⁷ is not named in the Tapestry; but Odon is *twice* named, and is introduced on the most important occasions — at the council in which the invasion of England was resolved on, at that which was held soon after the army landed, and at a critical moment of the battle of Hastings. 4. The expedition of William and Harold into Bretagne, is but an episode in the history of the conquest of England. Guillaume de Jumièges scarcely bestows ten words on it.⁵⁸ Guillaume de Poitiers is more communicative;⁵⁹ but the Tapestry records circumstances of it not elsewhere noticed.⁶⁰ This admits of explanation: the army, on its return, halted at Bayeux; and the warriors no doubt recounted their adventures—the memory of which was preserved by tradition. 5. A view of

⁵⁵ Hermant, H. D. B., p. 131. ⁵⁶ G. de Poitiers, *Historiæ Normannorum scriptores antiqui*. Lvtetiae, 1619. Fol. p. 201.

⁵⁷ O. Vital, *Ibid.* p. 523. + *Domesday-Book*, 87 b 2, 102 a 1, etc.

⁵⁸ H. N. S. A., p. 285. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 191, etc. ⁶⁰ Lancelot, M. A. I., viii. 614.

Mont-Saint-Michel is introduced in this episode; but no event occurs to require it. This circumstance also admits of explanation; for the priory of Saint-Vigor, which was rebuilt by Odon, had received its inmates from Mont-Saint-Michel—and the nomination of its Abbot was one of the rights of the Bishop of Bayeux.⁶¹ 6. Harold swore fidelity to William. He *swore on relics*—which William afterwards carried about him at the battle of Hastings.⁶² But where did the ceremony take place? Guillaume de Poitiers, who was Chaplain to the Conqueror—Guillaume de Poitiers, who received his account of the event from eye-witnesses—assures us that it took place at *Bonneville*.⁶³ The deviser of the Tapestry is pleased to claim the honor for *Bayeux*. 7. Guillaume de Poitiers intimates that Harold was conducted to *Rouen* after the expedition into Bretagne—and states positively that William retained him some time as his guest.⁶⁴ In the Tapestry, the return of Harold to England immediately follows the ceremony at *Bayeux*. 8. M. d'Anville cites as the ancient names of Bayeux—*Bajocasses*, *Civitas Bajocassium*, and *Bajocæ*.⁶⁵ The Tapestry has *HIC WILLELM VENIT: BAJIAS*—which M. Lancelot remarks he had not met with elsewhere.⁶⁶ The silver plate found near Derby in 1729, proves that *BOGLE* was sometimes used at Bayeux.⁶⁷ 9. It has been said, whence

⁶¹ M. Beziers, H. S. de B. p. 129. ⁶² G. de Poitiers, H. N. S. A., p. 201. ⁶³ Ibid. p. 191. “Coadunato ad Bonamvillam consilio, illic Heraldus ei fidelitatem sancto ritu Christianorum iuravit.” ⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 192. ⁶⁵ Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, Paris, 1760. In-4. pp. 82-4. ⁶⁶ M. A. I., viii. 626. ⁶⁷ W. Stukeley, Account of a Silver Plate, 1736. 4to. p. 5.

came the Saxon terms *ÆLFGYVA* and *CEASTRA*.⁶⁸ This new hypothesis solves the difficulty. The Saxon language prevailed at Bayeux; where traces of it are still discoverable.⁶⁹ 10. There are only fifteen persons named in the Tapestry; eleven persons of historical celebrity, such as Edward, Harold, William, etc.—*Elfgiva*, a female—and three persons unknown to fame, Turolde, Wadard, and Vital. The brilliant names commemorated by Guillaume de Poitiers,⁷⁰ were less attractive to the deviser than those of Turolde, Wadard, and Vital—*names familiar to the inhabitants of Bayeux*. This assertion requires proofs—but *Elfgiva* is entitled to precedence. William promised to bestow one of his daughters on Harold.⁷¹ She is represented beneath the inscription *ÆLFGYVA*—but *Elfgiva* was not her name. Emma, daughter of Richard I. of Normandy,⁷² and mother of Edward the Confessor,⁷³ is sometimes called by the Saxon annalists, *Elfgiva Emma*.⁷⁴ *Elfgiva*, therefore, whatever Florence of Worcester may assert,⁷⁵ seems to have been an appellation of honor—a point which I submit to our Saxonists. But why was the name of the betrothed omitted? Could it not be ascertained? or was it so familiar as to be deemed superfluous? I apprehend the latter to have been the case: she was the DAME

⁶⁸ *Archæologia*, xviii. 100, 102. + xix. 199, 204. ⁶⁹ F. Pluquet, *Essai historique sur Bayeux*, Caen, 1829. In-8. p. 9.

⁷⁰ H. N. S. A., pp. 202-3. ⁷¹ G. de Jumièges, *Ibid.* p. 285.

⁷² G. de Jumièges, *Ibid.* p. 247. ⁷³ *Saxon Chronicle*, by Ingram, 1823. 4to. p. 212. ⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 175, 212, 232.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 175.

par excellence—she was *buried*, and was *annually commemorated*, at Bayeux.⁷⁶—TUROLD appears as a name; but it is doubtful to which figure it applies.⁷⁷ The name was not uncommon. One Turolde had been tutor to William, but died some years before the conquest.⁷⁸ Another Turolde succeeded Odon in the see of Bayeux;⁷⁹ and I conjecture that the Turolde named owes that honor to some relationship with the prelate. Ralph, a son of Turolde, held some *pleasant sites* in Kent under Odon⁸⁰—an additional proof of the connexion of the name with Bayeux.—HIC: EST: WADARD: appears over the figure of a man armed and mounted. Mr. Douce and M. de la Rue considered him as a *centinel*!⁸¹ I take him to have been the *chief commissary* of the army. Wadard, a name which does not occur in the *Domesday* survey as a tenant before the conquest, obtained six messuages at Dover—the *gift* of Odon.⁸² He also held lands under Odon in various parts of Kent, in Oxfordshire, in Lincolnshire, etc.⁸³ In Lincolnshire alone he is *nine* times called HOMO EPISCOPI BAIOCENSIS = the *homager of the Bishop of Bayeux*.⁸⁴—HIC: WILLELM: DVX INTERROGAT: VITAL: SI VIDISSET EXERCITV HAROLDI = *Here Duke William asks Vital if he had discovered the army of Harold*. This is a remarkable scene, and relates to a circumstance recorded in history. William himself made a reconnaissance

⁷⁶ De la Rue, R. T. B., p. 56. ⁷⁷ Lancelot, M. A. I., vi. 753.

⁷⁸ G. de Jumièges, H. N. S. A., p. 268. ⁷⁹ O. Vital, Ibid. p. 765. ⁸⁰ Domesday-Book, 6 a 1, 7 a 2, etc. ⁸¹ Archaeo-

logia, xvii. 102. ⁸² Domesday-Book, 1 a 1. ⁸³ Ibid. 6 a 2, 7 b 1, etc. 155 b 2, 156 a 1, etc. ⁸⁴ Ibid. 342 *passim*.

soon after his arrival at Pevensey;⁸⁵ and despatched some approved knights on a second reconnaissance.⁸⁶ Vital, we may presume, was one of the approved knights. He obtained lands in Kent under Odon,⁸⁷ and was witness to a charter of Odon in 1092.⁸⁸ But why was he introduced in preference to the renowned warriors enumerated by Guillaume de Poitiers, Orderic Vital, *Mestre Wace*, and Benoît de Sainte-More? I conjecture that he was a relative of the Vital of saintly eminence who died in 1119—in whose name *miracles* are said to have been performed—and who was *born near*, and is *celebrated in the cartulary of the church of, BAYEUX*.⁸⁹

I cheerfully approach a question of easier solution, Is Odon represented with a *mace* in his hand? He did not bear a mace at the battle of Hastings; nor is he so represented.

Guillaume de Poitiers, writing *soon after* the conquest, assures us that Odon *never bore arms*; ⁹⁰ and *Mestre Wace* shall testify that he was not armed on the occasion in question :—

“ Sor un cheval tot blanc séeit,
Tote la gent le congnoisseit.
Un baston teneit en son poing;
Là ù véeit li grant besoing,
Faseit li chevaliers torner,
E là les faseit arrester ;

⁸⁵ G. de Poitiers, H. N. S. A., p. 199. ⁸⁶ G. de Poitiers, Ibid. p. 201. ⁸⁷ Domesday-Book, 10 a 1. ⁸⁸ De la Rue, R. T. B., p. 57. ⁸⁹ Hermant, H. D. B., pp. 185-6. ⁹⁰ “Arma neque mouit vnquam, neque voluit moueri : valde tamen timendus armatis.” H. N. S. A., p. 209.

Souvent les faseit assaillir,
E souvent les faseit féir.”⁹¹

As the French of *Mestre Wace* is not identical with that of *MM. les quarante*, I shall furnish an imitation of the above lines—albeit the poetic light of the doer shineth faintly:—

“ Mounted on a milk-white steed,
Odon spoke to every eye;
Swift he rode where most was need,
A staff in hand—he bears it high,
And he checks each heartless knight,
Each knight incites to face the foe,
Onward to move—~~nor~~ think of flight—
But grasp the lance—or deal the blow!”⁹²

On *this* point the chronicler and the artist coincide. Odon is represented in the Tapestry as well-mounted—but not on a war-horse. He wears a suit of *gambeson*—not the armour of a combatant. He wears indeed a casque—but has neither javelin nor shield. The inscription is HIC . ODO EPS : BACVLV TENENS : CONFORTAT PVEROS — which Mr. Sharon Turner will permit me to translate *Here Bishop Odon bearing a STAFF encourages the young soldiers*.⁹³ Now, the staff borne by Odon is of the same description as that which Duke William bears when he questions Vital on the result of his *reconnaissance*; when he addresses the soldiers previous to the onset; and when he endeavours to shame the fugitives. It is clearly a *bâton de commandement*. Father Montfaucon, who had borne arms in early life,⁹⁴ calls it a *bâton*;⁹⁵ M. Delauney

⁹¹ R. R., ii. 220.

⁹² E Mss. Corneianis.

⁹³ *Vide* Du

Cange, in voce puer.

⁹⁴ Weiss, Biog. Univ., xxix. 536.

⁹⁵ M. M. F., ii. 28.

of Bayeux calls it a *bâton* ;⁹⁶ and M. de la Rue expressly calls it a *bâton de commandement*.⁹⁷ The weapons which certain antiquaries are pleased to consider as *maces*, are what Guillaume de Poitiers calls SAXA LIGNIS IMPOSITA⁹⁸ = stones with wooden handles—and were chiefly used as *missiles*.

This must positively be the *terminus*, on the present occasion, of my Anglo-Norman researches and conjectures. Having *despatched* the premises of D'Israeli, I should attack his inferences with the fullest confidence of success ; but forbear—for it would seem like superfluous pugnacity.

In the first article of this *anti-lively miscellany*, I have endeavoured to estimate the claims of D'Israeli as a *civilian* ; and in the present article as an *antiquary*. Let no one conclude that my principal aim is to deprive him of his TITLES OF HONOR: the circumstance is the mere accidental effect of *chronology* ! I shall, however, recommend to our universities and learned societies to economize in the distribution of such honors—and not bestow them on men who, whether they write on civil law or on other antiquarian subjects, are sure to increase the mass of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * The *meek dissertation* on the Bayeux Tapestry, as Mr. D'Israeli terms it, has had an exciting effect on his mental frame ; and this excitement has produced, as it often does, inconsistency. He exalts my name much above its due level in antiquarianism ; and, at

⁹⁶ O. T. B., p. 81.

⁹⁷ R. T. B., p. 87.

⁹⁸ H. N. S. A.,

p. 201.

the same time, threatens me with antiquarian annihilation! In his short comment there are also; 1. Two fictitious quotations: "I deny the sentinel,"—"I deny the mace; 'tis no mace; 'tis a staff." And 2. Two false assertions. He declares that I call his aphoristical *idea* "a splendid *flimflam*:" I have only applied the words to his ascription of the Tapestry to Matilda. He says, "And on the pretext of correcting mace into baton, Mr. Corney has written this dissertation of *fourteen* pages." I have not bestowed *two* pages on that point. That such was not the main object of my essay, and that my conjectures were really possessed of some novelty and plausibility, may perhaps appear by the following extracts:—

"L'auteur pense que la tapisserie de Bayeux a été faite aux dépens du chapitre de l'église de cette ville, après la réunion de la Normandie. Il prouve au moins qu'elle n'est pas l'ouvrage de Mathilde, femme de Guillaume-le-Conquérant."—DAVNOU, *Membre de l'Institut Royal de France, Garde des Archives du Royaume, etc.*

"I have read it with much interest, and am clearly of opinion that you have proved two things: 1°. That there exists no good ground for attributing the tapestry to Matilda; 2°. That it was probably worked at Bayeux for the use of the church of Bayeux."—JOHN LINGARD, D. D., *Author of the History of England, etc.*

ART. III.—An *unpublished* teston of Henry VIII.—from the cabinet of I. D'Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.

"An ancient English proverb preserves a curious fact concerning our coinage. Testers are gone to Oxford, to

study at Brazen-nose. *When Henry the Eighth debased the silver coin, called testers, from their having a head stamped on each side; the brass, breaking out in red pimples on their silver faces, provoked the ill-humour of the people to vent itself in this punning proverb, which has preserved for the historical antiquary the popular feeling which lasted about fifty years, till Elizabeth reformed the state of the coinage.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

Philips has chanted in sonorous verse the praise of a *splendid shilling*.² Plain prose is no doubt better adapted to a dissertation on a *base teston*—but I shall perhaps enliven it with an occasional specimen of verse.

As method is desirable on all subjects, I shall divide the article into six sections. 1. On the *ancient English proverb, Testers* etc. 2. On base testons of Henry VIII. *having a head stamped on each side*. 3. On the proportion of *brass* contained in these testons. 4. On the *red pimples* which broke out *on their silver faces*. 5. On the *ill-humour* which provoked the allusion to Brasen-nose college. 6. On the duration of the *popular feeling*.

§ 1. On the *ancient English proverb, Testers* etc.—This sentence wants the characteristic of a proverb: it admits of no moral application. Fuller indeed, of whom D'Israeli *silently* borrowed it, classes it as an Oxfordshire proverb;³ but Heywood, of whom Fuller *avowedly* borrowed it, shall confute them both. Master John Heywood, the contemporary of Henry

¹ C. L., v. 127. ² Poems by Mr. John Philips, 1744. 12mo. pp. 1-7. ³ Worthies of England, 1662. Fol. Oxfr., p. 328.

VIII., was a great admirer of our *pithie proverbes olde*. He has left us a *Dialogue of Proverbs* in 24 chapters — 300 *Epigrams on 300 Proverbs* — and 300 *Epigrams invented and made* by himself. Now, the pretended proverb is a mere fragment of one of the last-mentioned epigrams — which I give entire in its old English dress :—

“*Testons be gone to Orforde god be their speede :
To studie in Breasennose there to procede.*”⁴

§ 2. On base testons of Henry VIII. *having a head stamped on each side*.—A teston of this type would be an ornament to the richest cabinet. Snelling, an experienced dealer in coins, had never obtained a sight of one;⁵ nor had our learned numismatic annalist, the Rev. Rogers Ruding.⁶ I cannot therefore persuade myself of its existence; and shall hazard a conjecture as to the source of the hallucination. The reverse of the testons of Henry VIII. is an expanded rose crowned. Now I conceive that D’Israeli, in some moment of *excitement*, mistook the expanded rose for the expanded visage of his Majesty; or perhaps examining some teston of which the reverse had been worn smooth at shovelboard, he fancied the reflected object to resemble the head of a king — and hastily concluded that there was a *head stamped on each side*.

§ 3. On the proportion of *brass* contained in these testons.—The ancient standard for silver coin was

⁴ John Heywoodes woorkes, 1566. 4to. Ep. 5th 100. No. 63.

⁵ View of the Silver Coin, 1762. Fol. Plate iii. No. 38. ⁶ Annals of the Coinage of Britain, 1819. 8vo. Plate viii. 2 and 6.

11oz. 2dwt. fine and 18 dwt. allay.⁷ The testons of the 34th Henry VIII. contained 10 oz. fine and 2 oz. allay;⁸ those of his 36th year, 6 oz. fine and 6 oz. allay;⁹ and those of his 37th year, 4 oz. fine and 8 oz. allay.¹⁰ But this allay was not *brass*: it was *copper* — which, as Fuller very justly remarks, “*common people confound with brass.*”¹¹

§ 4. On the *red pimples* which broke out on their *silver faces*.—How could D’Israeli suppose *red pimples* to be occasioned by *brass*? or, indeed, any description of pimples! The allay, whatever it was, would combine with the silver—and the colour of the testons be uniform. So Heywood describes them:—

“*These Testons looke redde: how like you the same?*
’Tis a token of grace: they blushe for shame.”¹²

The truth is that D’Israeli utterly mistakes the nature of the allusion. The head on the shilling of Henry VII. was a profile: so that the *auricle* was the prominent part. The head on the teston of Henry VIII. was a full face; and to the inevitable abrasion of the *nose*, added to the baseness of the metal, our *historical antiquary* should have attributed that appearance which occasioned the allusion to *Brasen-nose*.

§ 5. On the *ill-humour* which provoked the allusion to *Brasen-nose college*.—When we have occasion to contradict, politeness requires that it should be done

⁷ W. Lowndes, Report on Silver Coins, 1695. 8vo. p. 18.

⁸ Ibid. p. 22.

⁹ Ibid. p. 22.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 23.

¹¹ W.E.

Oxf^e, p. 328.

¹² Woorke, 1566. 4to. Ep. 5th. 100. No. 64

in some *circuitous* method—but the claims of brevity induce me to adopt the *direct* method. I therefore declare that the allusion which D'Israeli attributes to the *ill-humour of the people*, should be attributed to the *good-humour of an individual*. Heywood was in much esteem with King Henry VIII.;¹³ and possessed a rare fund of good humour.¹⁴ He thus concludes the address to the readers of his fifth book, which contains the above epigrams:—

“As I, for mirth, merrily did make it,
So you, in mirth, merrily will take it.”

§ 6. On the duration of the *popular feeling*.—The first debasement of the silver coin took place in the 34th Henry VIII.¹⁵—and the first considerable debasement in the 36th Henry VIII.;¹⁶ but all the base coin was called in by proclamation on *Michaelmas euen before noone* the 2nd Elizabeth.¹⁷ I need not cite Blair or Sir Harris Nicolas to prove that this leaves about eighteen years for the duration of the *popular feeling*: our *historical antiquary* calculates it at fifty years!

The learned FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq., to whom the *lively miscellany* is inscribed, was much attached to numismatics; and wrote an article on testons, which he admits to have cost him *no small labour*.¹⁸ He must have been amused with the *curious fact concerning our coinage*, so cleverly historified by his friend D'Israeli—and no doubt considered it as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

¹³ Wood, Ath. Oxon., 1691-2. Fol. i. 116. ¹⁴ Camden, Remains, 1614. 4to. p. 299. ¹⁵ Lowndes, R., p. 22. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 22. ¹⁷ Stow, Annales, 1601. 4to. p. 1094. ¹⁸ Illustrations of Shakspeare, 1807. 8vo. i. 35.

* * It now appears that Mr. D'Israeli *never beheld a tester!*—but he ventures to controvert one of my statements. He had described the period of the debasement of the silver coin to be *fifty* years. I stated it *correctly* at *eighteen* years. In return for this correction, he calls me “*a vile suppressor of evidence ;*” and declares, with a shout of triumph, that Camden tells us it was “*two hundred years and more.*” The venerable Camden shall be *my* witness; and his evidence may enable the public to decide between the mendacity of the Pseudo-Illustrator, and the veracity of the late Honorary Professor. “*King Henry the eyght,*” says Camden, . . . “*in his later dayes first corrupted the rich coyne of this flourishing Kingdome with Copper.*” * * * “*By her benefit,*” continues Camden, speaking of Queen Elizabeth, “*England enioyeth as fine, or rather finer sterling siluer then euer it was in this Realme by the space of two hundred yeares & more ; a matter worth marking and memory.*”¹⁹ Mr. D'Israeli then adverts to the numismatic essay of Mr. Douce; and introduces this superfluous flourish: “*to which I might add something which Mr. Corney shall not at present learn.*” I may not comprehend the threat; but shall attempt a suitable reply. I possess a *Ms. valuation* of the literary qualifications of Mr. D'Israeli, by Francis Douce, Esq.—the particulars of which *Mr. D'Israeli shall not at present learn.*

¹⁹ Remaines, 1614. 4to. pp. 208-9.

ART. IV.—The effrontery of Vasari—the *bonhomie* of Silvano Razzi—the union of both in I. D'Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.

"It is...strange that neither Bottari nor Tiraboschi appear to have been aware that Vasari employed others to write for him;...I have discovered the name of the chief writer of the Lives of the Painters, who wrote under the direction of Vasari, and probably often used his own natural style, and conveyed to us those reflections which surely come from their source."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

In certain collections towards *An Inquiry into the Literary Character of I. D'Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.* (which are preserved in a private depository) an attempt is made to enumerate the peculiar qualifications of that writer; and the precedence is assigned to his extraordinary *aptitude for discovery*.

He is said to be the son of an Italian. He has certainly travelled in Italy, and is conversant with its literature;² and it is therefore reasonable to expect that this aptitude for discovery should shine with more than common brilliancy on such a subject as the character and talents of Vasari. Without pretensions to either of the advantages which he possesses, I shall presume to examine how far those expectations are realized.

Vasari published the first edition of his *Lives of*

¹ C. L., v. 238-6.

² C. L., i. 43, ii. 198, etc.

the Painters in 1550;³ and a revised edition in 1568.⁴ In 1577, *three years after the death of Vasari*, Father Serafino Razzi incidentally stated that the *Lives of the Painters* were chiefly written by his brother Silvano Razzi.⁵ To this statement D'Israeli is pleased to give full credence—and he announces it as a *discovery*.

He opens his case by asserting that Vasari was “*a mere painter and goldsmith, and not a literary man.*”—I prefer the authority of Vasari himself, and shall call him *a painter and ARCHITECT*;⁶ nor can I omit to add that he *built the finest edifice in Florence!*⁷ The latter part of the assertion is not more credible. If Vasari had been devoid of the qualifications of a writer, would Cardinal Farnese have urged him to undertake the work? Would Giovio, Caro, Molza, etc. have encouraged him to proceed?⁸ Besides, the remark is out of place: it is the very point to be proved.

He proceeds, *It is...strange that neither Bottari nor Tiraboschi appear to have been aware that Vasari employed others to write for him.*—It is strange that

³ *Le Vite de' piv eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, etc. da Giorgio Vasari.* In Firenze, 1550. 4to. 3 parts. ⁴ *Le Vite de' piv eccellenti Pittori, etc. da M. Giorgio Vasari.* In Fiorenza, 1568. 4to. 3 vols. ⁵ “*Ma chi pur volesse, può vedere il tutto nelle vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti scritte per la più parte da D. Silvano Razzi mio fratello per il Sig. Cavaliere M. Giorgio Vasari Aretino suo amicissimo.*” Serafino Razzi, *Vite de' Santi*, etc. cited by Nelli, *Saggio di Storia Letteraria*, etc. Lucca, 1759. 4to. p. 58, note 2. ⁶ V. P., 1568. *Title.* ⁷ Milizia, *Lives of Architects*, by Mrs. Cresy, 1826. 8vo. ii. 25. ⁸ Lanzi, *History of Painting in Italy*, by T. Roscoe, 1828. 8vo. i. 238.

D'Israeli should make so unfounded an assertion. Bottari, one of the most learned prelates of the court of Rome in the last century,⁹ published a splendid edition of the *Lives of the Painters* in 1759-60.¹⁰ He expressly states that Vasari, in his second edition, received the assistance of Silvano Razzi.¹¹ He even enters into a discussion on the amount of assistance, and concludes that Razzi may have contributed certain eloquent passages on virtue and monastic perfection;¹² but Poggiali has proved that his conclusion was in part founded on misapprehension.¹³ Tiraboschi gives the passage of Serafino Razzi VERBATIM. He remarks that if the falsehood of it could not be shown, it would much diminish the praise due to Vasari—but leaves the examination of it to others.¹⁴

We now arrive at the important announcement, I HAVE DISCOVERED, etc.—Will D'Israeli condescend to define the word *discovery*? our lexicographers seem all at fault. If he uses it in the sense of *discovery to himself*, it will at once account for the perpetual occurrence of the word in the *lively miscellany*; if he means *discovery to the public*—I have proved that as to the statement of Serafino Razzi, he made *no discovery*.

It is to be presumed that D'Israeli has read Lanzi.¹⁵ He cites him repeatedly, and calls him the

⁹ Ginguéné, Biog. Univ., v. 259. ¹⁰ Vite de' più eccellenti

Pittori, etc. illustrate con note, Roma, 1759-60. 4to. 3 vols.

¹¹ Ibid. i. xiii.

¹² Ibid. i. xiv.

¹³ Serie de' Testi, etc.

Livorno, 1813. 8vo. ii. 392.

¹⁴ Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Modena, 1787-94. 4to. vii. 1611.

¹⁵ Storia Pittorica della Italia, Bassano, 1795-6. 8vo. 3 vols. etc.

sagacious Lanzi.¹⁶ Now, the sagacious Lanzi also makes the statement which D'Israeli claims as a discovery: he made it in 1795,¹⁷ and with the addition of some 'critical remarks in 1809.¹⁸ Poggiali also repeated the statement of Serafino Razzi in 1813;¹⁹ while that portion of the *lively miscellany* which comprised the article on Vasari—a portion produced at the period of life in which, as D'Israeli expresses it, *we open the virgin veins of original research, and strike out new results in the history of human nature*²⁰—was not published till 1823.²¹

So much for the *discovery*. The truth or falsehood of the statement is a separate question, and a matter of opinion. I shall therefore leave D'Israeli in quiet possession of such conclusions as best suit his peculiar notions of historical testimony; but as an antidote to his paradox shall transcribe the remarks made on this subject by the late Professor Salfi—and I believe it will be admitted that a controvertible point could scarcely be treated with more candour and impartiality:—"Tiraboschi hasarde cette citation sans l'examiner."²² Mais serait-il vraisemblable que Vasari, qui certes ne manquait pas de tous les moyens nécessaires pour composer un pareil ouvrage, eût voulu s'attribuer les travaux d'un autre, que celui-ci l'eût toléré de bon gré, et que les Florentins eux-mêmes, qui les connaissaient bien tous les deux, n'eussent pas dévoilé le plagiat de l'un et la bon-

¹⁶ C. L., iv. 212, 213, 218, etc. ¹⁷ S. P. I., i. 177.

¹⁸ Ibid. Bassano, 1809. i. 194. ¹⁹ S. T., ii. 392. ²⁰ C. L.,

i. vi. ²¹ C. L., Second Series. 8vo. 3 vols. ²² Ma chi pur volesse, etc.

ART. V.—A lament for Luis de Camoens
—with a specimen of superfluous fiction.

"*Camoens, the solitary pride of Portugal, deprived of the necessities of life, perished in a hospital at Lisbon. This fact has been accidentally preserved in an entry in a copy of the first edition of the Lusiad, in the possession of Lord Holland.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

I could wish to transport myself to the banks of the Derwent-water, and obtain permission to turn over the leaves of a certain BIBLIOTHECA LUSITANA MANUSCRIPTA;² or to some less romantic site on the Tyne (where, however, the *muses haunt*) and hold converse with the zealous biographer of Camoens.³ Deprived of such assistance, I may lament the fate of the Lusitanian bard—but cannot promise much illustration of it.

D'Israeli is pleased to style Camoens *the solitary pride of Portugal*.—This is a *smart* compendium of the literary history of that nation; but not likely to supersede the *four gigantic folios* of Father Diogo Barbosa Machado.⁴

¹ C. L., i. 42. ² R. Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, 1810-19. 4to. iii. v. ³ I leave this effusion in its primitive state; but have since been favored by John Adamson, Esq. M.R.S.L., etc., the *biographer of Camoens*, with a BIBLIOTHECA LUSITANA, New-castle-on-Tyne, 1836. Sm. 8vo. pp. iv.+116. It describes an ample collection of the best books on Portuguese literature—and is a choice specimen of bibliography. ⁴ *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisboa, 1741-59.

D'Israeli then states that Camoens, *deprived of the necessities of life*, perished in a hospital at Lisbon.—I consider this as superfluous fiction. Camoens, who was called *the Prince of the Poets of his time*—Camoens, whose *Lusiadas* had obtained the approbation of Sebastian—Camoens, whose epic was in its cast so national, so calculated to extend the fame of Lusitanian enterprise—was indeed left in the ranks of hopeless poverty. He was not without a friend—but the sympathy of the Lusitanians was denied him :—

“ Dans ce délaissement funeste,
Un ami toutefois lui reste ;
Mais ce n'est pas un Lusitain :
Chaque soir sa main charitable
Quête le pain que sur leur table
Ils partagent le lendemain.”⁵

Death bereft him of his faithful Antonio—a native of Java, who had accompanied him from India. He survived him but a few months. Sickness was added to his other misfortunes ; the news of the death of Sebastian, whose achievements he intended to celebrate in verse, increased it ; and he expired on the bed of poverty in 1579. Such is the information afforded by his contemporaries Manoel Correa and Pedro de Mariz ;⁶ and by his earliest biographer, Manoel Severim de Faria.⁷ It does not warrant the assertion — nor does the narrative of Dom

⁵ Raynouard, *Journal des Savans*, 1829. p. 430. ⁶ Os *Lusiadas*, Lisboa, 1613, 4to. Sig. † 4 *verso*. Fol. 1. 308. *verso*. ⁷ *Discursos Varios Politicos*, Evora, 1624. 4to. p. 128.

Jozé Maria de Souza⁸—that Luis de Camoens *perished*.

I have taxed D'Israeli with *superfluous fiction*—and now tax myself with *superfluous facts*. His error admits of a shorter explanation. He formerly wrote, “Camoens was deprived of the necessaries of life, and is believed to have *perished in the streets*.”⁹ He afterwards ascertained that Camoens *died in a hospital*; but, penurious of revision—or, misled by certain notions on the *calamities of authors*—he is now pleased to state that Camoens *perished in a hospital*!

He adds, *This fact has been accidentally preserved*, etc.—He leaves the credulous to consider the *discovery* of this *fact* as the result of his learned researches at Holland House. Now, that Camoens *died in a hospital* was stated by Manoel de Faria e Sousa in 1639;¹⁰ by Diogo Barbosa in 1752;¹¹ by Pellicer in 1797;¹² by Dom Jozé Maria de Souza, who printed the note from the volume which had been transmitted to him by Lord Holland, in 1817;¹³ and by Mr. Adamson, to whose learned researches we are *really* much indebted, in 1820.¹⁴ From Mr. Adamson, in fact, has D'Israeli silently borrowed the whole of his account of Camoens—*except its errors*.

I disclaim all pretensions to an acquaintance with

⁸ Os Lusíadas, Paris, 1817. Fol. Vida de C. pp. 69-70.

⁹ C. L., 1791. 8vo. p. 61. ¹⁰ Lusiadas de Camoens, Madrid, 1639. Fol. Vida de C. col. 33. ¹¹ B. L., iii. 71. ¹² Don

Quixote de la Mancha, Madrid, 1797. 8vo. Vida de C. p. cciii.

¹³ Os Lusíadas, Paris, 1817. Fol. Vida de C. pp. 69-70.

¹⁴ Memoirs of Luis de Camoens, 1820. 8vo. i. 207.

Portuguese literature ; have promised no novelty of illustration on the lamented fate of Camoens ; and shall be satisfied if the reader will permit me to class the statement of D'Israeli as one of the minor *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * Mr. D'Israeli attempts to justify his assertion that Camoens *perished in a hospital*, by the example of M^{me}. de Staël—who, as he declares, so *expresses* herself. I must inform him that M^{me}. de Staël *expresses* herself in French.¹⁵ He afterwards, with his usual consistency, admits that he should have said, *died in a hospital*.¹⁶

ART. VI.—Queen Elizabeth appointing her successor—*our female historian* and *our male historian*.

“ I was introduced to Miss Aikin, the author of several historical works, and *especially one on Elizabeth*. She is a well-informed and lively woman, and I found her conversation very entertaining.”—FREDERICK VON RAUMER.¹

Miss Aikin, whose *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*² lie before me, describes *the closing scene of the long and eventful life* of her Majesty in the words of Sir Robert Cary, afterwards Earl of Monmouth.³ D'Israeli twits this accomplished writer as “ *our*

¹⁵ Biog. Univ., vi. 621. ¹⁶ I. I., p. 79. ¹ England in 1835, 12mo. ii. 113. ² *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*. By Lucy Aikin, 1818. 8vo. 2 vols. ³ *Ibid.* ii. 493, etc.

female historian"⁴—tells us that she had not wasted "*the bloom of life in the dust of libraries*"⁵—and pretends to give the *Secret history of the death of Queen Elizabeth* from an *authentic Ms.*⁶ Now, I shall weigh *our female historian* against *our male historian*; and I predict that the latter—in despite of the ponderous additaments D.C.L. and F.S.A.—will exhibit unequivocal signs of comparative levity.

Queen Elizabeth had always been extremely averse to name a successor. Of this fact we have abundant and curious proofs. In 1559 the House of Commons made *request to her Highness for marriage*:⁷ she would only promise that *the realm should not remain destitute of an heir*.⁸ In 1563 Mr. Speaker, with the whole House, exhibited a petition to her Majesty *touching marriage and succession*: she accepted it with an *excellent oration*—but was pleased to defer the answer *for the gravity of the cases*.⁹ In 1566 the Lords and Commons made suit to her Majesty *for marriage and succession*: she answered, as to the *succession*, that *time would not yet suffer to treat of it*; ¹⁰ and soon after dissolved the Parliament—expressing, with inconceivable sharpness, her displeasure at *the doings of the Commons*.¹¹ Her resolute behaviour on this occasion almost *laid the subject of the succession at rest*.¹² In 1575, however, Mr.

⁴ C. L., iv. 361, vi. 122. ⁵ Ibid. iv. 361. ⁶ Ibid. vi. 120-7. ⁷ Journals H. C., i. 54. ⁸ Sir S. D'Ewes, Journals temp. Eliz. 1682. Fol. p. 46. ⁹ J.H.C., i. 64. ¹⁰ Ibid. i. 76. ¹¹ Ibid. i. 81. + Sir S. D'Ewes, J. E., p. 116. ¹² H. Ellis, Archaeologia, xviii. 242.

Speaker (prudently avoiding the obnoxious word *succession*) in the name of the House moved her Majesty to *marry*—to which she graciously promised, for the *benefit of the realm*, to *dispose and incline herself*.¹³ Her progress in this delicate operation did not satisfy the Commons; and in 1593 Sir Henry Bromley and Mr. Wentworth revived the topic of *succession*: they were cited before the Privy Council—and, to appease offended Majesty, committed to prison!¹⁴

The Queen was no doubt favorable to the claims of James VI.—but chose to conceal her sentiments.¹⁵ Early in 1603, on the day of her last removal from Whitehall to Richmond, she remarked to the Earl of Nottingham, “*My throne has been the throne of Kings, and no other but my next heir should succeed me.*”¹⁶ The importance of this remark could not escape the Lord Admiral. He communicated it to the Privy Council, who deputed the Lord Keeper Egerton, Mr. Secretary Cecil, and the Lord Admiral himself, to wait on her Majesty and ascertain her pleasure as to her successor—on which occasion she named the KING OF SCOTS.¹⁷

We will describe an event of later date in the words of Sir Robert Cary:—

“On Wednesday the twenty-third of March, she [the Queen] grew speechless. That afternoon, by signes, she called for her Councill, and by *putting her hand to her head*, when the King of Scottes was named to succeed her, *they all knew* hee was the man she desired should reigne after her.”¹⁸

¹³ Sir S. D'Ewes, J. E., p. 233. ¹⁴ Ibid. p. 470. ¹⁵ Camdeni Annales Eliz., 1717. 8vo. p. 911. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 909.

¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 911-2. ¹⁸ Memoirs of R. Cary, 1759. 8vo. p. 176.

Now, Sir Robert Cary was a near relation of her Majesty, with whom he had repeated interviews; his sister Lady Scrope was in constant attendance on her; another sister had been the wife of the favorite Nottingham; and his brother Lord Hunsdon was a Privy Councillor.¹⁹ Such were his opportunities of information—and his character as drawn by Campion, a contemporary of note, adds to the credibility of the above testimony:—

“Vnus erat vitæ tenor, & prudentia iuncta
Cum gravitate tibi; sic quasi nata foret:
Nec mutavit honos, nec te variabilis ætas;
Qui novit iuvenem, noscet itemque senem.”²⁰

His *Memoirs* are also written in that artless manner which inspires confidence: “*veracity*,” says Lord Orrery, “*is their only ornament*.” The most scrupulous historian could scarcely resist such testimony—but it does not stand alone. Nottingham and Cecil assured M. de Beaumont, the French ambassador, that Elizabeth had named to them her successor *some days before her death*; and that her speech failing, they requested her, in presence of others of the council, to confirm it—on which “*she put her hand to her head*.”²¹

D’Israeli, however, is not satisfied with this *odd* statement; and sarcastically remarks that Miss Aikin “*could only transcribe the account of Cary*.” He also asserts that on this occasion the *exact* Birch “*draws his information from the letters of the French ambassador*,

¹⁹ W. Dugdale, *Baronage*, 1675-6. Fol. ii. 397-8 + M. R. C., pp. 172-82. ²⁰ Tho. Campiani *Epigrammatvm libri II.* 1619. 12mo. Sig. A 7. ²¹ Birch, *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, 1754. 4to. ii. 508.

Villeroy.—Why, Mr. *Historian*, it was the learned Dr. Birch²² who first published this statement; and so much did he value it, that he declared the remarkable circumstances of the last illness and death of Elizabeth to be “*best described in the words of Sir Robert Cary.*”²³ Besides, Mr. *Historian*, the name of the French ambassador was not Villeroy!

We must now examine the Ms.—D’Israeli saith, “I HAVE DISCOVERED a curious document in a manuscript volume formerly in the possession of Pety!”—but whether in the British Museum, or in the State-paper Office, or in the archives of Bradenham House, the *lively* scribe seemeth not to remember. I will refresh his memory. The volume to which he refers is the Lansdowne Ms. No. 512; but an earlier transcript of the narrative is preserved in the Cotton library,²⁴ another transcript in the Sloane collection,²⁵ and two in the library of the Inner Temple. The portion introduced by D’Israeli was even *published* by Mr. Nichols, in a work which obtains a prominent station in every collection of Elizabethan history, in 1788²⁶—and repeated in 1823.²⁷ The statement in question stands thus in the Lansdowne Ms. :—

“She [the Queen] not being able to speak, was asked by Mr. Secretary in this sort, wee beseech your Majesty if you remaine in your former resolution and that you would have the King of Scots to succeed you in your Kingdome shew some signe unto us, [viz. Egerton, Nottingham, and Cecil] whereat *suddainly* heaveing her selfe upwards in her bed and pulling her arms out of

²² Earl of Hardwicke, Letters of Sir D. Carleton, 1780. 4to. p. 1.

²³ Historical View, 1749. 8vo. pp. 205-13.

²⁴ Titus, C. vii.

fol. 57.

²⁵ Addit. Ms. No. 1786. fol. 3 verso.

²⁶ Progresses of

Q. Elizabeth, 1788-1805. 4to. ii. Sig. A. p. 1, etc.

²⁷ Ibid. 2nd.

*bed she held both her hands joyntly together over her head in manner of a crowne, whereby as they guessed shee signified that shee did not onely wish him the kingdome but desired the continuance of his estate."*²⁸

D'Israeli points out, as the quintessence of his *discovery*, that the expression of Sir Robert Cary "*putting her hand to her head*, too MEANLY describes the *joining her hands in manner of a crown*." He values the evidence according to its scenic effect. He thinks it probable that Elizabeth, who excelled in majesty of demeanour,²⁹ should have closed her career with an act of mimicry.

I do not hesitate to assert that the Petyt Ms. (which D'Israeli is inclined to ascribe to Cecil) is an unauthoritative compilation. It commences thus: "About the Friday senenight after Christmas *last* being about the 14. January 1602," [1603] and we read within a few lines, "Mr. Secretarie Cecill (*after Earle of Salisbury*)."—Now, Sir Robert Cecil was not created Earl of Salisbury till the 4th of May 1605;³⁰ so that the document of which D'Israeli vaunts the importance—the document on which he builds his triumph over *our female historian*—bears on its face the marks of *in-authenticity*.

In the Petyt Ms. the date and circumstances of the event are both mistated. The author represents it to have occurred about 4 P. M. on the 24th of March: before that hour James I. had been proclaimed at Whitehall and Cheapside Cross!³¹ He

edit. iii. 607, etc. ²⁸ Lansdowne Ms. No. 512. fol. 43. ²⁹ Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641. 4to. p. 3. ³⁰ Howes, *Annales*, 1615. Fol. p. 863. ³¹ Stow, *Annales*, 1605. 4to. p. 1425.

represents it to have occurred in the presence of Egerton, Nottingham, and Cecil, alone — to whom the *sign* was superfluous: we have the testimony of Nottingham and Cecil, as communicated to M. de Beaumont, that it was in presence of the council—to whom it was of the utmost importance.

The judicious author of *Certain short observations concerning the life of Elizabeth*,³² (composed, it appears, in the autumn of 1603)³³ records some interesting particulars of her latter moments which he received from “*such persons as had good meanes to vnderstand the truth of things*”;³⁴ but when about to relate that the Queen “*lifted vp hir hand to hir head, and turned it round in the forme of a circle,*” he says, “*IT IS REPORTED—*” and concludes with, “*These reportes whether they were true indeed: or given out of purpose by such as would haue them so to be beleueed it is hard to say: sure I am they did no hurt.*”³⁵ He adds that there were *diuerse rumors* spread concerning the manner of the death of the Queen; and I consider the narrative copied in the Petyt Ms. to be a mere distant echo of some of the *rumors* of the time.

It would be useless to continue the illustrations of this pretended *discovery* in Elizabethan history. The facts which I have produced, will enable the inquisitive student to repeat the statical experiment alluded to at the commencement of this article; and the result must inevitably be, the EXALTATION of our *male historian*—the *courteous* author of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

³² Addit. Ms. No. 718.

³³ Ibid. fol. 39.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 39.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 39 *verso*.

* * * *Our male historian* endites a pathetic exordium on Miss Aikin and himself, or rather on himself and Miss Aikin—for he contrives to make himself the prominent object. His *effusion* is a neat example of what Longinus styles Parenthyse, or *ill-timed emotion*. I shall exhibit the chameleon in his true colours. He is ashamed of his sarcasm on *our female historian*, but has not the manliness to avow it: he now calls it a *congratulation*!—He cannot controvert the least portion of the facts detailed in the above article; but, with the petulance of a spoiled child who is thwarted, declares that the narrative of Sir Robert Cary is “*the very worst of all these narratives.*”

A note to his comment, calls for a short remark. He refers to Mr. Turner on the Petyt Ms.: Mr. Turner cites as his authority Mr. D'Israeli! It was unhandsome on the part of Mr. D'Israeli to draw in his *learned friend*—who is not very felicitous on the last period of the history of Elizabeth. He misleads us as to the day of her death; and prints, as the *simplest and truest statement* of the particulars in question, what the author of it gives as a REPORT!³⁶

ART. VII.—John Stow the annalist—with illustrations of ancient *gravity*, and modern *flippancy*.

“*The fashions of the Elizabethan age have been chronicled by honest John Stowe. Stowe was originally a tailor, and when he laid down the shears, and took up the pen, the taste and curiosity for dress was still retained.*”

³⁶ Hist. of the reigns of Edward VI. etc. 1829. 4to. pp. 701-2.

He is the grave chronicler of matters not grave. The chronology of ruffs, and tufted taffetas ; the revolution of steel poking-sticks, instead of bone or wood used by the laundresses ; the invasion of shoe-buckles, and the total rout of shoe-roses ; &c. . . . These, and occurrences as memorable, receive a pleasant kind of historical pomp in the important, and not incurious, narrative of the antiquary and the tailor."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

After the avowal of feelings approaching to veneration for certain members of the literate fraternity—need I hesitate to call John Stow, the VENERABLE JOHN STOW ? So, at least, it delights me to find him called by a learned transatlantic writer—an annalist himself of no mean note.²

Stow passed a prolonged life in the *love-making or wooing of truth* ; and never had truth a more faithful admirer. England is indebted to him for the most elaborate coeval picture of the brilliant era of Elizabeth—and London for the traces of her growth during six centuries ; but neither the nation nor the metropolis did him justice. Poverty was the unmeet companion of his latter years ; and when his claims were represented to the BRITISH SOLOMON—the BRITISH SOLOMON, in recompense of the toil of near half a century, and as an *encouragement* to others, graciously permitted him to become a MENDICANT ! Behold, in proof, one of the *curiosities of literature* :—

"James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith &c. To all our welbeloued Subiects, greeting.

Whereas our louing Subiect, Iohn Stowe (a very aged, &

¹ C. L., i. 330. ² Abiel Holmes, D. D., *Annals of America*, Cambridge, [U. S.] 1829. 8vo. i. 3.

worthy member of our city of London) this fve & forty yeers hath to his great charge, & with neglect of his ordinary meanes of maintenance (for the generall good aswell of posteritie, as of the present age) compiled and published diuerse necessary bookes, & Chronicles; & therefore we, in recompense of these his painfull laboures, & for encouragement to the like, haue in our royall inclination ben pleased to graunt our Letters Patents vnder our great seale of England, dated the eighth of March, 1603. therby authorizing him, the sayd Iohn Stowe, and his deputies, to collect, amongst our louing Subiects, theyr voluntary contribution & kinde gratuities; as by the sayd Letters Patents more at large may appeare: Now, seeing that our sayd Patents (being but one in them selues) cannot be shewed forth in diuerse places or parishes, at once (as the occasions, of his speedy putting them in execution, may require) we haue therefore thought expedient, in this vnusuall manner, to recommend his cause vnto you; hauing already, in our owne person, and of our speciall grace, begun the largesse, for the example of others. Giuen at our palace at Westminster,"³

The true date of the letters patent cited in this document, is the 8th of March 1604. Stow was then on the verge of his eightieth year; and closed a life of labour on the 5th of April 1605⁴—leaving a name which still acts as a charm on the lovers of English history.

It is not fit that we should dwell exclusively on the shadows of existence. Stow was honored with the countenance and approbation of Parker, Whitgift, Camden, etc.⁵ Stow was fortunate in the possession of rare manuscripts;⁶ manuscripts which would claim a conspicuous station amidst the treasures at Middle-Hill. He was, moreover, to use the lan-

³ Harleian Ms. No. 367. fol. 10. A printed copy—probably *unique*. ⁴ A. M., *Srvay of London*, 1618. 4to. p. 285. ⁵ *Annales*, 1601. 4to. *Ded.* etc. ⁶ *Summarie abr.* 1566. *Ded.* + Powel, *Historie of Cambria*, 1584. 4to. Sig. ¶ 7 *verso*.

guage of one of his contemporaries, a *merry old man*;⁷ and it was visible in a *pleasant and cheerful countenance*.⁸ We will therefore come to the conclusion that he bore his poverty with patience, a conclusion which an authentic anecdote tends to confirm. Walking with Ben Jonson, they met two mendicant cripples; and the *merry old man* asked, "*what they would have to take him to their ORDER*."⁹

There is ample scope for the biographer of John Stow; and I am gratified in believing that justice will shortly be done to his memory.¹⁰ Howes contrives to interest — but provokes by his brevity. Strype is rather verbose than circumstantial—and has very imperfectly availed himself of the aids to be derived from bibliography.

The essayist shall now make his entrance. He remarks, in the true spirit of *flippancy*, that the chronicler was *originally a tailor*, and that *when he laid down the shears, and took up the pen, the taste and curiosity for dress was still retained*.—The essayist, who prides himself as an adept in the *philosophy of history*, would have us consider the *taste and curiosity for dress* which the chronicler exhibits, as the remains of his former vocation!—Is not Edward Hall, the chronicler, a *gentleman of Grayes Inne, a citizen by birth*

⁷ H. Holland, *Ecclesia S. Pavli illustrata*, 1633. 4to. Sig. C 2.

⁸ Howes, *Annales*, 1615. Fol. p. 811. ⁹ Extracts from the Hawthornden Mss. Edinb. 1831-2. 4to. p. 102. ¹⁰ I venture to state that a memoir of Stow is contemplated by John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A.—whose hereditary love of research, and minute acquaintance with our national antiquities, peculiarly qualify him to undertake it.

and office, as common Sergeant of London,¹¹ extremely minute on dress? We will examine the inference of D'Israeli more closely. Stow records that in a "time of dearth and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny, or three eggs for two pence at the most."¹² Had he been a vender of those edible curiosities? The chronicler records that a "goodly challenge was made & obserued at Westminster at the tilt, with each one sixe courses: at the turney twelue strokes with the sword, three pushes with the punchion staffe: and twelue blowes with the sword at barriers, or *twenty if any were so disposed*."¹³ With what technical minuteness does he enumerate the thrusts and blows! Had he been a master of the art of defence? The chronicler records that "Son-day the 5. of August, [1604] a lionesse named *Ellebeth*, in the Tower of London, brought forth a lions whelp," and that "the 26. of February was an other lion whelped . . . by the foresaid lionesse," etc. How are we to account for the notice of such events? So unlike the dignity to which modern historians aspire! Had the chronicler been a keeper of wild beasts? He shall answer for himself. "Thus much of these whelpes haue I obserued, and put in memory, for that *I haue not read of any the like in this land before*," etc.¹⁴ Need I express the logical conclusion? If the chronicler is minute on *dress*, it is because he loved to be minute on every subject which he NOTED FOR POSTERITY.

¹¹ Stow, *Svrvay*, 1603. 4to. p. 114. ¹² *Annales*, 1601. 4to. p. 1281. ¹³ *Annales*, 1601. 4to. p. 1116. ¹⁴ *Annales*, 1605. 4to. pp. 1430, 1433.

The inanity of the *philosophy of history*, as exemplified by D'Israeli, will become more evident when I state that the attribution of the *chronology of ruffs and tufted taffetas* etc. to Stow the TAILOR, is utterly devoid of authority. It was written by Edmond Howes, GENTLEMAN!¹⁵

D'Israeli characterises Stow as the *grave chronicler of matters not grave*.—He is the *faithful* chronicler both of *gaieties and gravities*—of whatever he conceived would interest his contemporaries and posterity. As early as 1565, he thus announced his views on the subject of historical composition: “IN HYSTORIES THE CHIEFE THYNG THAT IS TO BE DESYRED IS TRUTHE;” and he added this caution on phrase-makers:—

“Of smoothe and flatterynge speache, remember to take hede:

For Trouthe in playn wordes may be tolde, of craft a lye hath nedde.”¹⁶

That the same principle actuated him through life, is evidenced by his travels “on foote vnto diuers cathedral churches and other chiefe places of the land to search records;”¹⁷ by the historical volumes which he “caused to be printed;”¹⁸ by his versions of the old Latin chroniclers;¹⁹ by his innumerable transcripts, excerpts, etc.²⁰ in addition to the well-

¹⁵ Annales, 1615. Fol. pp. 869, 948. Edit. 1632. pp. 869, 1038-9, etc. ¹⁶ Summarie [1565.] 8vo. To the Reader.

¹⁷ Howes, Annales, 1615. Fol. p. 811. ¹⁸ Annales, 1601. 4to. Sig. a 4. ¹⁹ Catt. Mss. Angliæ, 1697. Fol. nos. 10005-6.

²⁰ Harleian Mss. Nos. 247, 367, 530, 540. Lambeth Ms. No. 138, Art. 10.

known works which he published, viz. *A Summary of English chronicles*; ²¹ *The Annals of England*; ²² *A Survey of London*.²³ "He alwaies protested," says his biographer Howes, "neuer to haue written any thing, either for malice, feare, or fauour, nor to seeke his owne particuler gaine, or vaine glory, and that his only paines and care was to write truth."²⁴ This is his *own* testimony; but it is INCONTROVERTIBLE. It is this unwearied pursuit of truth during an extended career, which exalts his moral character—which stamps a value on his works—and has made his name as *national* as that of Bede, or Camden.

I vehemently hate PERSIFLAGE—*when aimed at those who deserve more than ordinary praise*. Stow complained, at the outset of his literary life, of the *snarlings* of certain critics;²⁵ and there were also *scoffers* in those times.²⁶ Bipeds, even of the critical class, now rarely *snarl*; and *scoffing* is considered as beneath your exquisite writer. The approved critical weapon is PERSIFLAGE—in the use of which D'Israeli has attained a fair portion of that proficiency which is generally the result of assiduous application.²⁷ This weapon, however, if not very skilfully handled, sometimes recoils; and should D'Israeli have had the misfortune to experience that annoyance, his *persiflage* on the VENERABLE JOHN Stow must undoubtedly be classed as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

²¹ 1565, etc. 8vo. ²² 1580, 1592, 1601, 1605, 4to. the latter not a reprint. ²³ 1598, 1603, 4to. ²⁴ *Annales*, 1615. p. 811.

²⁵ *Summarie abr.* 1566. Ded. ²⁶ Howes, *Annales*, 1615. Fol. p. 811. ²⁷ C. L., *passim*.

* * The castigatory observations which I made in favor of John Stow, have had due effect. Mr. D'Israeli now styles him VENERABLE STOWE. He remarks, in conclusion, that our annalist "*gave the nation their Chaucer.*" Poor Mr. D'Israeli ! he is sure to stumble whenever he enters his favorite path, the *history of our vernacular literature*. Stow edited Chaucer in 1561, and furnished his *loving friend* Speght with Chaucerian notes, which appeared in 1597 ;²⁸ but Master William Caxton *gave the nation their Chaucer*—half a century before John Stow was born.²⁹

ART. VIII.—Cervantes—Don Quijote de la Mancha a native of Barbary !

" *Cervantes composed the most agreeable book in the Spanish language during his captivity in Barbary.*" — I. D'ISRAELI.¹

It is never advisable to commence an argument with an assumption ; but an assumption which is readily assented to—and which the circumlocution of some *lively* writer compels one to adopt—may perhaps escape censure. I shall therefore assume that *by the most agreeable book in the Spanish language*, we are to understand *El ingenioso hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha*.

²⁸ Srrvay of London, 1603. 4to. p. 465. ²⁹ Typographical Antiquities, 1749. 4to. p. 54, etc. ¹ C. L., i. 50.

The principal biographers of Cervantes are los Señores D. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar,² D. Vicente de los Rios,³ D. Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada,⁴ and D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete.⁵ I exclude Nicolas Antonio and Sarmiento; Antonio, on the score of his brevity⁶—and Sarmiento, because his work remains in Ms.⁷

El Señor Mayans was a learned and assiduous author;⁸ but he could not ascertain the birth-place of Cervantes, nor was he aware of the anecdotes of his captivity furnished by Haedo.⁹ El Señor Rios, an officer of artillery possessing exquisite taste in literature,¹⁰ and el Señor Pellicer, afterwards librarian to his Catholic Majesty,¹¹ pursued their researches with superior success; but it is to the eminent abilities and activity of el Señor Navarrete, and to the influence of his name over the keepers of the various archives, that we are indebted for the most complete life of Cervantes¹²—and may he live to con-

² Vida y Hechos del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, En Londres, 1738. 4to. Vol. i. Vida de C. pp. 103.

³ El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, En Madrid, 1780. 4to. Vol. i. Vida de C. pp. cc.

⁴ Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de Traductores Españoles, En Madrid, 1778. 4to. pp. 143-98.

⁵ Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Madrid, 1819. 8vo.

⁶ Bibliotheca Hispana, Romæ, 1672. Fol. ii. 105.

⁷ Bibliotheca Heberiana. Pt. xi. No. 1410.

⁸ Sempere, Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española, En Madrid, 1785-9. 8vo. iv. 14, etc.

⁹ Vide Topographia, e historia general de Argel, En Valladolid, 1612. Fol.

¹⁰ Sempere, E. B. E., v. 17, etc.

¹¹ Ibid. v. 66, etc.

¹² Raynouard, Journal des Savans, 1820. pp. 534-42.

tinue his invaluable account of the early maritime achievements of the Spaniards.¹³

Now, the circumstance stated by D'Israeli has eluded the inquiries of the aforesaid erudite biographers,¹⁴ (not to mention the opposite intimation of Cervantes himself,)¹⁵ and if conclusive evidence of it could be produced, I am persuaded that el Señor D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete would hail our most sagacious compatriot as the *Columbus of literary history* !

But, alas ! it is a mere *fiction*, a fiction entirely devoid of the attractive qualities of fiction.—It might have been added, as an *appropriate* embellishment, that the autograph Ms. was still in the possession of the Dey of Algiers—that it was on superfine wove paper made by Whatman—that it was bound by Charles Lewis in a choice portion of the hide of *el famoso caballo Rocinante*—etc.

Need I repeat the *facts* ?—In lieu of adverting to the facts, which have been repeated a hundred times, I shall attempt a *history of the fiction*.

In 1694-5 appeared a second edition of the *Ménagiana, ou bons mots, etc. de M. Ménage*.¹⁶ The first edition is ascribed to M. Galland, the learned orientalist.¹⁷ The second edition was published by M.

¹³ *Vide* Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV., Madrid, 1825-9. 4to. 3 vols.—[Vols. 4 & 5 appeared in 1837.] ¹⁴ Mayans, p. 19. Rios, p. xiv. Pellicer, p. 164. and Navarrete, p. 95.

¹⁵ Prólogo de D. Q. ¹⁶ *Ménagiana*, A Paris, 1694-5. 2 vol. in-12. ¹⁷ M. de Boze, *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, 1740. In-8. ii. 42.

l'Abbé Faydit, "*qui la grossit de plusieurs impertinences*;"¹⁸ and among the additions which he made to it we find this paragraph :—

"J'ay ouï dire que Michel de Cervantes auteur de ce Roman de Dom Quixote étoit manchot, & qu'il auoit composé ce livre étant captif en Barbarie."¹⁹

Fail not, courteous student, to observe that M. Faydit reports what M. Ménage had heard reported. We have only the *ouï-dire* of an *ouï-dire*—but some men value that sort of evidence.

In 1791 appeared, anonymously, a volume entitled *Curiosities of Literature*. It was chiefly compiled from the French *ANA*; and contained the fiction on Cervantes. In 1834 appeared a ninth edition of the work, adorned with the name of the pretended *author* I. D'Israeli, Esq. D.C.L. and F.S.A.—Now, if we suppose each impression to have consisted of five hundred copies; if we allow about five readers to each copy; and believe it *possible* that the readers should be no better informed than the compiler; we must conclude that D'Israeli, in this instance alone, *has misled more than twenty thousand of his readers!*

* * * * *

I suppress the crowd of mortifying reflections which a review of this article has excited.—As an illustration of the insufficiency of periodical criticism—of the carelessness of writers—and of the effects of misplaced confidence on the part of readers—the continued currency of this fiction during *one hundred and forty years* is a circumstance so REMARKABLE—that it

¹⁸ Foisset, *Biog. Univ.*, xxviii. 254. ¹⁹ *Ménagiana*, 1694-5. ii. 8=1715. iii. 15, etc.

seems almost superfluous to characterise it as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * * To commit an error is perfectly easy: to confess it is a serious affair. Mr. D'Israeli evades it, by asserting his conviction that "Cervantes gave freedom to his genius during his captivity." He certainly exercised his genius in devising plans of escape²⁰—and perhaps *poetically*.²¹ Cervantes was redeemed in 1580.²² Can it be conceived that our inimitable romancer, who lived by his wits, should have detained *el ingenioso hidalgo* in the captivity of his writing desk for twenty-five years? Mr. D'Israeli seems rather inclined to yield the point; but contends that he was *guided by a right feeling*—in deceiving, as he calculates, *half a million* of his readers!

ART. IX.—Sir Walter Raleigh—the author of some passages *interspersed* in the *History of the World*.

"It was *true* of him, [Sir Walter Raleigh] what was *said* of Cato Uticensis: that he seemed to be born to that onely which he went about: so dexterous was he in all his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen, witnesse in the last his *History of the World*."—THOMAS FULLER, D.D.¹

That stupendous volume entitled *The History of*

²⁰ Navarrete, p. 34, etc.

²¹ Ibid. p. 57.

²² Ibid. p. 50.

¹ Worthies of England, 1662. Fol. Devon*. 262.

the World was first published in 1614.² The learned Camden ascribed it to Sir Walter Raleigh;³ Oldys, a vigilant scrutineer of authorities, ascribed it to Sir Walter Raleigh;⁴ and Mr. Tytler, whose acquaintance with the sources of historical evidence, and skill in its application, it would be superfluous to proclaim, also ascribes it to Sir Walter Raleigh.⁵ D'Israeli, undaunted by the opinions of such formidable writers, announces the *discovery of a little fact*—sports one of his *most novel deductions*—and reduces the especial claims of Sir Walter to “*the eloquent, the grand, and the pathetic passages interspersed in that venerable volume.*”⁶

A *voyage of discovery* can never want interest. I shall therefore examine the track of D'Israeli; endeavour to do him justice on the score of its novelty; and, with the experience of some short cruises between the same meridians and parallels, shall correct it by the result of careful and repeated observations.

He thrice announces a *discovery*; undertakes to disclose the *secret history* of the work; asserts as a *truth* that the “*collection of the materials of the History of the World was the labour of several persons* ;” and names as contributors, Thomas Hariot, Mr. Serjeant Hoskins, Ben Jonson, and Dr. Robert Burrel. With those objects in view, we take our departure.

² London, Walter Burre, 1614. Fol.—1617. Fol. A revised edition. ³ Camdeni Epistolæ, etc. 1691. 4to. Annales, p. 9.

⁴ Life of Sir W. Raleigh, [1735.] Fol. p. 183. ⁵ Life of Sir W. Raleigh, Edinb. 1833. Sm. 8vo. p. 333. ⁶ C. L., v. 233.

1. Thomas Hariot.—“*There was an English philosopher Thomas Hariot, whom Anthony Wood charges with infusing into Rawleigh's volume philosophical notions, while Rawleigh was composing his History of the World.*”—I. D'ISRAELI.

Anthony Wood makes no such charge. His words are: “He [Hariot] was a *deist*, and his doctrine he did *impart* to the said Count, [Henry, Earl of Northumberland] and to Sir Walt. Raleigh, when he was in compiling the *History of the World.*”⁷—Now, the assertion that Hariot *imparted* such notions does not amount to the charge of *infusing* them into the volume; besides, we have his *own* testimony, confirmed by his executors, that he had no deistical notions to impart.⁸ If the charge of *infusion* had been made, it should not have been repeated without adverting to its refutation. This omission shall be supplied. Wood states, in evidence of the deism of Hariot, that he maintained the *eternity of matter*; but Sir Walter Raleigh, into whose volume the *philosophical notion* is reported to have been *infused*, says, “*the supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering!*”⁹ Wood made use of the communication of Aubrey, *almost verbatim*; ¹⁰ and Wood himself admits that Aubrey was *exceedingly credulous*, and “*would stuff his many letters sent to A.W. with folliries, [sic] and misinformations*”¹¹—points in the evidence which

⁷ Athenæ Oxonienses, 1691-2. Fol. i. col. 390. ⁸ Report of Virginia, 1588. 4to. Sig. E 4. + Survey of London, 1633. Fol. p. 831.

⁹ H. W., 1614. Sig. D 3. *verso*.

¹⁰ Letters by Eminent Persons, 1813. 8vo. ii. 369. ¹¹ Lives of Eminent Antiquaries, Oxford, 1772. 8vo. ii. 209.

could not escape the notice of one conversant with our *vernacular literature*. Hariot was by birth and education an Oxonian. He became mathematical tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh;¹² made a voyage in his service to Virginia, with Sir Richard Grenville, in 1585;¹³ returned with Sir Francis Drake in 1586;¹⁴ and published an account of the colony, in the success of which Sir Walter was deeply interested, in 1588.¹⁵ We afterwards lose sight of him for some years—which, it is probable, were passed in studious retirement. Sir Walter was committed to the Tower on the 19th of July 1603;¹⁶ and in 1605 Hariot appears as one of the *six* persons who had obtained leave to *repair to him at convenient time*.¹⁷ Sir Walter had previously introduced him to the Earl of Northumberland¹⁸ (*the favourer of all good learning*) who generously conferred on him an annual pension of £120¹⁹—which enabled him to devote his whole time to philosophical pursuits. In 1607 he *observed* the Halleian comet;²⁰ in 1609 he introduced the use of the new *cylinders*; and in 1610 he commenced his observations on the satellites of Jupiter, and on the solar spots, at *Sion House*²¹—where, by the munifi-

¹² R. Hakluyt, *De Orbe Novo*, Parisiis, 1587. 8vo. Sig. a. iiii. verso.

¹³ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 1589. Fol. p. 736.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 747. ¹⁵ A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, etc. Imprinted at London, 1588. Sm. 4to. A to F. *fours*.

¹⁶ Birch, *Addit. Ms.* 4160. Art. 136. ¹⁷ Birch, *Ibid.* Art. 122.

¹⁸ Wood, *A. O.*, i. col. 390. ¹⁹ Isaac Walton, *L. E. P.*, ii. 418.

²⁰ S. P. Rigaud, *Misc. Works of Bradley*, Oxford, 1832. 4to. p. 514. ²¹ S. P. Rigaud, *Account of Harriot's Papers*, 4to. pp. 20, 21, 31, etc.

cence of his noble patron, he was allowed to *reside*.²² Camden,²³ Hakluyt,²⁴ Capt. Smith,²⁵ and other worthies of those times, have borne unequivocal testimony to his merit. He died in 1621; and the results of his algebraic researches were published in 1631.²⁶ Other remarkable proofs of his attachment to science remain in Ms.²⁷—It may be collected from the above facts, that Sir Walter Raleigh did not undervalue the fidelity and varied attainments of Hariot; but, when he remarks that mathematicians are the best authorities in *account of times*,²⁸ he names not the mathematical Hariot—when he commemorates Galileo and his *perspective glasses*,²⁹ he names not the Galileo of Sion House—nor is it possible to produce the slightest evidence that he was a contributor to the *History of the World*.

2. Serjeant Hoskins.—“*But in that imprisonment [in the Tower] it singularly happened that he [Sir Walter Raleigh] lived among literary characters, with the most intimate friendship. There he joined the Earl of Northumberland, the patron of the philosophers of his age, and with whom Rawleigh pursued his chemical studies; and Serjeant Hoskins, a poet and a wit, . . . and that Rawleigh often consulted Hoskins on*

²² Isaac Walton, L. E. P., ii. 418. ²³ Epistolæ, A. p. 72.

²⁴ Virginia richly valued, 1609. 4to. Sig. A 3. ²⁵ Description of New England, 1616. 4to. p. 4. ²⁶ Artis Analyticae Praxis, Londini, 1631. Fol.

²⁷ Harl. Mss. 6001, 2—Transcripts, excerpts, etc. + 6083—seems also to contain a portion of the *hog-shead* of mathematical Mss. collected on the continent by Sir Charles Cavendish. + Addit. Mss. 6782-9. Eight Solander cases filled with papers on mathematics, physics, etc.—presented to the Museum by Lord Egremont in 1810. ²⁸ H. W., 1614. p. 592.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 100.

his literary works, I learn from a manuscript."—I. D'ISRAELI.

To lose the credit of authorship by *living among literary characters*, may come within the reach of possibility; but I leave that point to be mooted at the Athenæum, and the University Clubs—and shall examine Mr. Serjeant Hoskins. D'Israeli pretends to *learn from a manuscript* that Raleigh *often consulted Hoskins on his literary works*.—I shall assume that he means his own manuscript, for the statement has been in print more than one hundred and forty years! Wood describes Hoskins as a scholar, a poet, a wit, and a critic; states that he was much esteemed by Camden, Selden, Daniel, and other men of note; that he *polished* Ben Jonson; and that he *viewed and reviewed*, before it went to the press, the work of Sir Walter Raleigh—with whom he had "several years *before* (especially *during* their time of imprisonment in the Tower) been intimate."³⁰ To that point I shall recur. Wood also states that "there were few, or none, that published books of poetry . . . but did *lay them at his feet for approbation before they went to the press*." Did Hoskins polish the versification of all his contemporaries? The fact stated admits of another explanation, and serves to illustrate the nature of his *viewing* and *reviewing*. The puffs of that period were in the shape of *commendatory verses*; to obtain which authors submitted their Mss. to those who had the gift of verse—not to obtain criticisms. Hoskins was no doubt a man of considerable abilities; but, like some of our contemporaries, owed much of his fame to eccentricity. A firm constitution and ex-

³⁰ A. O., i. 523.

traordinary memory fitted him to become one of the ornaments of Oxford—but he could not contrive to avoid *expulsion*. He had the honor to sit in three parliaments³¹—but he over-exercised the *liberty of speech*, and lost the *liberty of person*. He wrote *Direccons for Speech and Style*,³² in which he undertakes to teach *otherwise then ever any precepts have taught*—but the verse of the critic does not approach in melody the prose of Raleigh.³³ It is possible, nevertheless, that Sir Walter paid him the compliment in fashion; but I hesitate to admit that the *facete* Hoskins *viewed and reviewed*, with an eye to criticism, the Ms. of a work which occupies in print more than fourteen hundred folio pages! The statement is traceable to Aubrey—who would *break his neck down stairs rather than miss a story*.³⁴ He notices the imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower, the duration of which he could not remember; adds that Hoskins *was a prisoner there too*; and was the *Aristarchus* of Sir Walter.³⁵ Wood makes the same statement in substance, which I have in part transcribed. D'Israeli follows Wood—and his *own* precious *Ms.* They assume, as the chief support of their statements, that the critic Hoskins had been one of the fellow-prisoners of Sir Walter for some years at the time of the completion of the work. Now, I shall answer this triumvirate of

³¹ B. Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, iii. 160, 170, 221.

³² Harl. Ms. 4604.

³³ The Rev. P. Bliss has printed a specimen in his augmented edition of *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1813-20. 4to. ii. 627-8.

³⁴ Wood, A. O., 1813-20. i. cxlix. ³⁵ Works of Sir W. R., Oxford, 1829. 8vo. viii. 742-3.

antiquaries very briefly. The volume was published in March 1614³⁶—and Hoskins was not committed to the Tower till the *following June*!³⁷ So much for Mr. Serjeant Hoskins as a contributor to the *History of the World*.

3. Ben Jonson.—“*It has been ascertained that Ben Jonson was a considerable contributor.*”—I. D'ISRAELI.

There is some truth in this assertion. D'Israeli has hit the mark by a random shot. Ben Jonson contributed, *anonymously*, the poetical description of the frontispiece of the volume; and the lines appear in the collective edition of his writings, under the title of *The mind of the frontispice to a booke*.³⁸ D'Israeli adds in a note, without citing his authority, a part of the conversation of Jonson in the *social shade* at Hawthornden: “Sir Walter Rawleigh esteemed more fame than conscience. *The best wits in England were employed in making his history*; Ben himself had written a piece to him of the Punic War, which he altered and set in his book.” I shall super-add from the *same source*, which has been accessible more than a century, that Drummond describes Jonson as “*a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others*”³⁹—and of such a man, on such a topic, it cannot be unreasonable to doubt the testimony. Jonson ventured in conversation what he did not even allude to in print;⁴⁰ and I conjecture that Drummond had set some potent *canary*

³⁶ Camdeni Epistolæ, A. p. 9. ³⁷ Ibid. p. 10. + Journals H. C., i. 506. The debates are not recorded. ³⁸ Works of B. Jonson, 1640. Fol. ii. 193. ³⁹ Works of W. Drummond, Edinb. 1711. Fol. p. 226. ⁴⁰ W. B. I., ii. Disc. p. 102.

before his guest—who figures on that occasion as a *contemner* of Spenser, Shakspeare, Daniel, and Fairfax.⁴¹ Perhaps I could prove that he was not more likely to do justice to Raleigh,⁴² (whose *judgement* and *style* he praises very faintly⁴³) but wave that point to consider the *piece on the Punic war*. Was it on the *first* Punic war? The first Punic war is the very portion of ancient history which Sir Walter Raleigh was most qualified to illustrate. The narrative contains repeated *proofs* of its authorship;⁴⁴ with numerous characteristic allusions to Columbus, Cortes, Philip II.—to Cadiz, the Azores, the West Indies—and even a sort of announcement of the voyage to Guiana! Was it on the *second* Punic war? The narrative contains *one proof* of its authorship;⁴⁵ and characteristic allusions to Columbus, Philip II., Irish affairs, etc.—not to mention the chapter on duels and points of honor. Jonson was indeed an excellent scholar, and had also served in the wars;⁴⁶ but Raleigh was sufficiently familiar with the narratives of Polybius and Livy—of wide experience as a seaman and as a soldier—and it is doubtful whether *Ben himself* could have found such apt words to describe the naval achievements of Duilius and Adherbal, the marches of Hannibal, and the battle of Cannæ. Adieu to rare Ben Jonson. It *has been ascertained* that he contributed eighteen lines of *verse*—but I

⁴¹ Works of W. D., p. 225.

p. 284.

⁴³ W. B. I., ii. Disc. p. 102.

pp. 336, 351, 362, 365.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 497.

⁴⁶ W. Drummond, Extracts from the Hawthornden Mss., Edinb. 1831-2. 4to. pp. 103, 90.

cannot admit that he was a *considerable* prose contributor.—to the *History of the World*.

4. Dr. Robert Burrel.—“*But if Rawleigh's pursuits surpassed even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives, as Hume observes, we must attribute this to a* ‘D^r. Rob^t Burrel Rector of Northwold in y^e County of Norfolk [who] was a great favourite of S^r. Walter Raleighs & had been his Chaplin but all (or y^e greatest p^t. of y^e drudgery of S^r. Walters Hist. for criticisms chronology & reading of greek & hebrew authors were perform’d by him for S^r. W. Rawl.’”⁴⁷—I. D’ISRAELI.

D’Israeli states that he draws his information from a Ms.—and exults in the *discovery* of the *fact*, because it *clears up the mystery* which excited the *astonishment of the philosophic Hume*.—He refers to Anthony Wood on Hariot: he must permit me to cite him on Dr. Robert Burhill: “He was much respected and valued by Sir Walt. Raleigh for his scholastical accomplishments, who finding him a person of great learning, had his assistance in criticisms, in the reading and opening of Greek and Hebrew authors, when he was composing the *History of the World*, during his confinement in the Tower of London.”⁴⁸ This is the very *substance* of the Ms. — the chaplaincy excepted. D’Israeli claims, within the space of some twenty lines, a second *discovery*—which has been before the public more than one hundred and forty years!

He has the candour to point out the source of his

⁴⁷ I follow the Ms. hereafter mentioned in preference to the inaccurate copy furnished by D’Israeli. ⁴⁸ A. O., ii. col. 4.

information, the Lansdowne Ms. No. 702—of which he attempts a description. He thinks the Ms. has been mistaken for a *ciphering-book*. Good Mr. *D'Israeli!*—as thine own friend Dibdin exclaimeth on a somewhat similar occasion⁴⁹—by whom? The compiler of the sale catalogue calls it *The note book of one Thomas Rawlins of Pophills*. The compiler of the Museum catalogue calls it *The note or commonplace book of Thomas Rawlins of Pophills*. A ciphering-book! Fluellen would have rioted in the comparison. He thinks the collections were made from those Mss. which Wood *condemned* to the flames; and *sagaciously* adds that, if so, the Ms. *is the only register of many curious facts*. Now, to pass over the inference that what was *condemned* by Wood must contain *curious facts*, I shall briefly state that Wood died in 1695—and that the collections of Mr. Rawlins were made in the years 1724-37.

The volume contains one hundred and eight leaves in small 4to. It was the *adversaria* of Thomas Rawlins of Pophills, in the parish of Salford Priors, in Warwickshire.⁵⁰ Rawlins seems to have studied at Oxford, was acquainted with Hearne and Baker,⁵¹ and had access to the papers of Wood.⁵² He cites Aubrey repeatedly;⁵³ but sometimes exercised his patience on transcripts from the *Evening Post*, and *Worcester Journal*! The memorandum in question occurs folio 57 *verso*. I conjecture it to be part of a

⁴⁹ *Reminiscences*, 1836. 8vo. p. 89. ⁵⁰ W. Thomas, Warwickshire, 1730. Fol. p. 868. + *Chronicon de Dunstaple*, 1733. 8vo. p. ci. ⁵¹ L. E. P., ii. 101, etc. ⁵² Ms. p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 4, 7, 9, etc.

letter from Aubrey to Wood; that it was the source of the statement made in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*; and that the letter now exists in the Ashmolean Museum. It is difficult to characterise a volume so multifarious in its contents as the adversaria of Mr. Rawlins. It may contain numerous *facts*, but carries no *authority*. We read in it, "Athens y^e seat of learning"—"Sr. Tho Bodley was born at Exeter." We admit the remarks as facts, because they coincide with our previous notions—not on the authority of Mr. Rawlins.—We read in the Ms. those admired verses of Raleigh, *Even such is time* etc.:⁵⁴ they were printed as early as 1644! We read in it a part of a letter which is there said to have been written by him to his relations in 1618: it was written in 1603 to Lady Raleigh!⁵⁵ Such is the foundation on which stands one of the most notable *discoveries* in the HISTORY OF OUR VERNACULAR LITERATURE.⁵⁶

Other questions pertaining to this branch of the argument remain for consideration.—Was Dr. Burhill qualified to afford the assistance attributed to him? Had he the opportunities of affording it? Does the statement of Anthony Wood bear the marks of credibility?

Robert Burhill was born at Dymock in Gloucestershire about the year 1572. He received his education in Corpus Christi college at Oxford; where he graduated B.A. 1591, M.A. 1594, B.D. 1603, and D.D. 1632. He became noted in early life as a Latin poet; afterwards, as a controversialist; and

⁵⁴ Ibid. 59 verso.

⁵⁵ Works of Sir W. R., 1751. 8vo. ii. 383. ⁵⁶ Vide Athenæum, 1835. p. 626.

left a copious Ms. commentary on Job. His preferences were the rectory of Peterstow in Herefordshire, a prebend in the cathedral of Hereford, the rectory of Snalewell in Cambridgeshire, and that of Northwold in Norfolk; where he died in 1641.⁵⁷ It must be admitted that he was qualified to afford all the assistance which Sir Walter Raleigh can be conceived to have required.

That he had the opportunities of affording such assistance is *extremely improbable*. If we may believe Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, the only persons who had occasional access to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1605, were—Gilbert Hawthorne, a *preacher*—Dr. Turner—Dr. John, a surgeon—John Shelderbury, one of the trustees of his forfeited property—Thomas Hariot—and his steward of Sherborne.⁵⁸ In 1608 he was evidently under more restraint;⁵⁹ and he did not obtain the liberty of the Tower till April 1615.⁶⁰ I am persuaded that extreme misapprehension prevails on that point—which may be traced to David Lloyd.⁶¹ The assertion that the THREE MAGI of the Earl of Northumberland *did constantly converse* with Sir Walter,⁶² is in part a *fiction*—a gratuitous addition to the doubtful statement of Aubrey.⁶³

I name Anthony Wood with that reverence which is due to one who toiled in the mine of truth, not

⁵⁷ Wood, A. O., i. 764, etc. ii. 4-5. + B. Willis, Survey, ii. 607. + Cole, Mss. xxix. fol. 212 *verso*. ⁵⁸ Birch, Addit. Ms. 4160. Art. 122. ⁵⁹ Birch, Ibid. Art. 122. ⁶⁰ Birch, Addit. Ms. 4168—*prefixed memoranda*. ⁶¹ States-men of England, 1665. 8vo. p. 489. ⁶² Wood, A. O., i. 390. ⁶³ L. E. P., ii. 368.

as a mirror of infallibility. He omits half the pre-ferments of Burhill; is erroneous in his dates; and *contradicts himself repeatedly*.⁶⁴ If he derived the paragraph in question from the same source as Rawlins, he disbelieved the tale of the *chaplaincy*—a circumstance which would involve the whole in discredit. The epitaph on Burhill states indeed that “*He was most intimate with the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, and assisted him in the critical part of his History of the World;*”⁶⁵ but this is a mere repetition of Anthony Wood—the tablet which bears the epitaph having been erected by Dr. Knight, Prebendary of Ely, in 1727.⁶⁶ It would be useless to amplify. A conjecture has been made, and shall be left to the chance of verification.

I must once more advert to Aubrey. He has been cited by eminent writers as authoritative—sometimes, it may be affirmed, too credulously. He is, at least, an incompetent guide on Sir Walter Raleigh. He describes a certain *adventure* of Sir Walter:⁶⁷ the particulars could not have transpired. He states that Sir Walter was twice married:⁶⁸ his only wife was his *dear Bess*.⁶⁹ He states that Sir Walter made a voyage to Virginia in 1585:⁷⁰ he founded the colony—but did not visit it.⁷¹ When to this precious specimen of Aubrey we add his presumed error on Hariot, and his undoubted error on Hoskins, it will appear

⁶⁴ A. O., i. 764, 772, 789, 873. + ii. 4-5.

xxix. fol. 212 *verso*.

⁶⁶ Cole, Mss. xlii. p. 147.

1813-20. ii. col. 237. note 5. *in nine copies only*.

ii. 510.

⁶⁹ Oldys, L. R., p. 74, etc.

⁷¹ R. Hakluyt, P. N., 1589. p. 725, etc.

⁶⁵ Cole, Mss.

⁶⁷ A. O.,

⁶⁸ L. E. P.,

⁷⁰ L. E. P., ii. 367.

that he has been over-rated as a biographical compiler.—I shall endeavour to do him justice: I believe he was an *accurate observer*; but he often wrote from *memory*, and was an indiscriminating recorder of *chit-chat*.

Wood pathetically notes that Aubrey “*sometimes would guid him into the paths of error*”;⁷² and, if both Wood and Rawlins copied Aubrey on this occasion—their statements, devoid of concurrent testimony, may be considered as devoid of credibility—so that I shall venture to strike out Dr. Robert Burhill, the sole remaining name in the list of contributors to the *History of the World*.

I shall now endeavour to do justice to D'Israeli. He has stated his case like an experienced pleader—a pleader aware of the importance of *concealment*, and of the efficacy of *insinuation*. He does not remind us that Hariot was capable of assisting Raleigh in *criticism* and *chronology*—but throws out an insinuation which he had sufficient evidence to disprove!⁷³ He does not describe Hoskins as a scholar, but as a *poet* and a *wit*—and insinuates that *little of Grecian lore* floated from the poet. The poet Hoskins had a sufficient share of scholarship to compile about half a Greek Lexicon! He calls on us, with an air of triumph, to state where Raleigh could “obtain that *familiar acquaintance* with the rabbins, of whose language he was *probably* entirely ignorant.” Raleigh claims no *familiar acquaintance* with the rabbins—

⁷² L. E. A., ii. 209. The defamatory assertion for which Wood was expelled the University of Oxford—*was copied from Aubrey!*

⁷³ H. W., 1614. pp. 22, 37, etc.

nor does he ever cite their language. The question is entirely due to the inventive powers of D'Israeli himself!

Admire the exquisite art of the pleader. He has been retained by the GENIUS OF PSEUDO-DISCOVERY. It is his object to establish the importance of the nameless memorandum on which he rests his case—to make it appear that the *critical* and *chronological* lore contained in the *History of the World*—that the *Grecian* lore, and the *Hebrew* lore, which he pretends to detect in it—should all be attributed to Dr. Robert Burhill.

The truth lies in the beaten path, which we will now examine. Sir Walter Raleigh consulted Eusebius,⁷⁴ Mercator,⁷⁵ Joseph Scaliger,⁷⁶ Torinelli, etc.⁷⁷ on *chronology*; but he sometimes introduces his own conjectures,⁷⁸ and even admits that he had made some *hastie mis-reckonings*.⁷⁹ He preserved some acquaintance with the Greek language⁸⁰—but makes no display of *Grecian* lore. He cites Herodotus,⁸¹ Diodorus Siculus,⁸² Strabo,⁸³ etc. Æschylus,⁸⁴ Pindar,⁸⁵ Euripides,⁸⁶ Athenæus,⁸⁷ etc. in the Latin versions. The opinions of the Greek Fathers, he chiefly obtained through the medium of the biblical commentators.⁸⁸ He acknowledges that he was *altogether ignorant* of the *Hebrew language*;⁸⁹ and had

⁷⁴ H. W., 1614. pp. 101, 130, 237, 476, etc. ⁷⁵ Ibid. pp.

101, 156, 246, 570, etc. ⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 227, 566, 570, etc.

⁷⁷ Ibid. pp. 227, 571. ⁷⁸ Ibid. pp. 160, 218. ⁷⁹ Ibid. Sig.

6 T 5. ⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 174, 201, etc. ⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 85, 124, 56.

⁸² Ibid. pp. 104, 116, 134. ⁸³ Ibid. pp. 48, 50, 56, etc.

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 316. ⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 3. ⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 94. ⁸⁷ Ibid.

p. 20. ⁸⁸ Ibid. *passim*. ⁸⁹ Ibid. Preface, Sig. E. 4.

recourse to the commentators for the opinions of the rabbins.⁹⁰ He could not describe *Eden*, *Babel*, etc. without Hebrew words; but, to obviate the charge of assumed erudition, remarks that he found the explanation of some words in Montanus, of others in Sixtus Senensis, and adds, "*of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends.*" One of these friends was probably the Rev. Gilbert Hawthorne, who seems to have been his chaplain. Sir Walter had given proofs of *great depthe and goode readyng* in divinity *previous* to his imprisonment.⁹¹ We may infer that he would make choice of a learned man as his chaplain.

Perhaps more has been advanced on the point at issue, than was due to the cobweb arguments of D'Israeli; but much more could be stated in illustration of historic truth, and on the accredited claims of Sir Walter Raleigh. I shall not, therefore, quit the *rare and renowned knight* unceremoniously.

It is certain that superior abilities, much leisure, and continued application, were requisite to the production of the *History of the World*. It is also certain that Sir Walter Raleigh possessed those qualifications. We will review the testimonies of his contemporaries; and not silently permit this modern aspirant in discovery to overset his claim to the credit of authorship—supported, as it is, by the evidence of the work itself.

I shall summon even a royal witness. Elizabeth, who was a *proficient in the reading of men as well as*

⁹⁰ Ibid. *passim*.
12mo. ii. 152.

⁹¹ Sir J. Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1779.

books,⁹² and was accustomed to the display of talents of the choicest stamp, took Sir Walter Raleigh for a "*kind of oracle*."⁹³ Sir Robert Cecil, whose enmity towards him has been sufficiently proved, adverting in his *own diary* to the trial at Winchester, records that he produced in his defence "*as much as the wit of man could devise*."⁹⁴ Sir Robert Naunton, one of the official instruments of his condemnation, declares that he possessed *strong natural wit*, with the "*adjuncts of some general learning which by diligence he enforced to great augmentation and perfection*;"⁹⁵ and the historiographer Howell, always rich in intelligence, assures us he had "*heard his enemies confess that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this Island ever bred*."⁹⁶

His leisure is a matter of notoriety. He had passed more than *ten years* in the Tower when he published his work. D'Israeli, however, to add plausibility to the pretence of discovery, calls on us to recollect the *little time* which he "*could allow to such erudite pursuits*." He afterwards admits that his confinement was "*sufficient for the composition of this folio volume, and of a second which appears to have occupied him*;" so that if we avail ourselves of the notions of D'Israeli—we arrive at the curious conclusion that the period was *insufficient* for the composition of *one volume*, but *sufficient* for the composition of *two volumes*!

His habits of application, and love of literature,

⁹² Sir R. Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641. 4to. p. 31.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 35. ⁹⁴ *Addit. Ms.* 4160, 136. ⁹⁵ *F. R.*, p. 34.

⁹⁶ *Familiar Letters*, 1655. 8vo. ii. 92.

are undeniable. We find him a member of a literary society;⁹⁷ a benefactor to the Bodleian Library;⁹⁸ a patron of learned writers;⁹⁹ borrowing Mss. of the collector Cotton; furnishing others to the learned Selden, etc.¹⁰⁰ Sir Robert Naunton, who possessed the best opportunities of ascertaining his true character, and could have no motive to exalt it, declares that "*if ever man drew virtue out of necessity it was he*"¹⁰¹—declares that he was "*the great example of industry*"—an "*indefatigable reader whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers of men and the times.*"¹⁰² It is moreover reported that he left above *three thousand* sheets of autograph Ms.¹⁰³

The internal evidence of the authorship of one portion of the work has been stated; and I shall now briefly examine the first book. The preface abounds in characteristic touches. We commence with the text. A review of the various opinions on the site of Paradise, leads the author to mention his experience "*neere the line and under it.*"¹⁰⁴ Adverting to the notion of Becanus that the *Tree of Life* was the *Ficus Indica*, he says, "*I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one valley, not farre from Paria in America.*"¹⁰⁵ In his reflections on patriarchal longevity, he informs us that he "*knew the old Countesse of Desmond in Munster.*"¹⁰⁶ The ark of Noah is described in the style of a seaman; and it calls to his

⁹⁷ Oldys, L. R., p. 130. ⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 106. ⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 130. ¹⁰¹ F. R., p. 34. ¹⁰² Ibid. Ms. copy in my possession—the printed text is erroneous. ¹⁰³ D. Lloyd,

States-men of England, 1665. 8vo. p. 490.

p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 67.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 78.

¹⁰⁴ H. W., 1614.

recollection the *spouts* which he had seen in the West Indies, and what he had been told of floods by "*some ancient southsayers*" in America.¹⁰⁷ In narrating the early attempts at navigation, he speaks of coracles and canoes—and adds, "*Of the one sort I have seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.*"¹⁰⁸ Pointing out the misconceptions which had occurred in naming newly discovered countries, he states the origin of the name of Peru "*as diuers Spaniards in the Indies assured*" him;¹⁰⁹ and adds, "*The same hapned among the English, which I sent vnder Sir Richard Greeneuile to inhabite Virginia.*"¹¹⁰ Need I proceed? The above passages are neither *eloquent*, nor *grand*, nor *pathetic*. Were they written by Thomas Hariot? or by Mr. Serjeant Hoskins? or by Ben Jonson? or by Dr. Robert Burrel?

It is difficult, on some occasions, to preserve a suitable measure of gravity—but the attempt must now be made.—If we examine the whole of the above evidence; if we compare the more prominent facts contained in it with the statements and insinuations of D'Israeli; we must either assume that his acquaintance with our *vernacular literature* is extremely superficial, and that he has not read the smallest portion of the work of which he pretends to have discovered the *secret history*—or, we must come to a conclusion not much adapted to establish his character as a *faithful and ingenuous writer*.

Sir Walter Raleigh, it may be once more stated, was endowed with splendid abilities; but his abilities,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. pp. 109, 7, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 154.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 175.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 175.

without other qualifications, would not have produced the *History of the World*. It is in the continued attachment to literature which he so especially evinced, and in the habit of assiduous application to his pursuits, that we read the *secret history* of its composition. I make the assertion with confidence—being enabled to prove its congeniality with his own sentiments: “*Opus peragunt labor et amor. W. Raleigh.*”¹¹¹

* * * * *

D'Israeli, in one short essay, calls in question the character and abilities of Giorgio Vasari, and of Sir Walter Raleigh. He insinuates that the two celebrated works to which their names seemed for ever attached, have been mis-ascribed; assumes to himself the *discovery* of the *secret history* of those works; and, by a convenient application of critico-arithmetical science, pronounces those *two* instances of discovery to be equivalent to *twenty*. I shall assume that, in this and a preceding article, I have effected the demolition of his *two* discoveries; and, adopting the said critico-arithmetical process, might therefore claim the merit of restoring *twenty* deserving individuals to their rank and honors in the *République des Lettres*—but, if the Court of Appeal to which all cases of this description appertain, should decide in favor of the validity of only one tenth part of such claim, I shall rejoice at having accepted the *Professorship of Criticism*—and that I made my *début* with the *Curiosities of Literature*.

¹¹¹ Album of Capt. Segar — successively in the collections of Mr. Meyrick, Mr. Bindley, and Mr. Heber.

* * The essay on the ascription of *The History of the World* to Sir Walter Raleigh has received such emphatic praise, that I cannot condescend to vindicate it till some more formidable opponent than Mr. D'Israeli shall arise. I leave to their inevitable fate his *falsified* quotation on Hariot, his audacious inference, his misrepresentations on Hawthorne, etc., his quirks, and his conjectures. A sagacious observation by Sir Walter Raleigh himself, and a short comment on the paragraph in which Mr. D'Israeli passes sentence on my essay, is all that I propose to add:—

“There is no error which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some apparance of probabilitie resembling truth, which when men who studie to be singular finde out, straining reason according to their fancies they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds to finde some partakers or sectatours.”—SIR WALTER RALEGH.¹¹²

This observation proves that there have been D'Israelis in former times; and I recommend it to our modern D'Israeli, as a text for him to meditate on for the remainder of his days.

“In his article of Sir Walter Rawleigh, with a parade of original research, he has only followed in the wake of his more courteous predecessor, Mr. Tytler.”—I. D'ISRAELI.¹¹³

These three lines call for as many remarks. 1. It is not said that the *parade of original research* is mere parade; and I quietly submit, as it is impossible to return the compliment: Mr. D'Israeli has

¹¹² H. W., 1614. p. 57.

¹¹³ I. I., p. 80.

substantial reasons for not citing *his* authorities. 2. Mr. Tytler, I am persuaded, would be courtesy itself to those who have a claim on his courtesy; but he did not hesitate to characterise the article of Mr. D'Israeli as "a remarkable and instructive example how certainly *superficial research leads to error, and error to injustice.*"¹¹⁴ 3. I am proud to announce that Mr. Tytler, in whose *wake* I am said to *follow*, has commended my essay for its "precision and satisfactory strength," for the "*new information it communicates,*" etc.

ART. X.—Philip III. of Spain—his last illness, and premature death.

"Philip the Third was gravely seated by the fire-side: the fire-maker of the court had kindled so great a quantity of wood, that the monarch was nearly suffocated with heat, and his grandeur would not suffer him to rise from the chair; the domestics could not presume to enter the apartment, because it was against the etiquette. At length the Marquis de Potat appeared, and the king ordered him to damp the fire; but he excused himself; alleging that he was forbidden by the etiquette to perform such a function, for which the Duke d'Usseda ought to be called upon, as it was his business. The duke was gone out: the fire burnt fiercer; and the king endured it, rather than derogate from his dignity. But his blood was heated to such a degree, that an erysipelas of the head appeared the next day, which, succeeded by a violent fever, carried him off in 1621, in the twenty-fourth year of his age."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

¹¹⁴ Life of Sir W. R., p. 458.

¹ C. L., i. 285.

The nature of this volume has required the irksome repetition of various statements to which it was not desirable to give additional currency; and now, on the most serious of all subjects, requires me to exhibit—a *caricature*. That Philip III. of Spain died in 1621 is an undoubted fact: the rest of the above narrative is a tissue of fiction and witticism.

I oppose to it a plain account, founded on coeval authorities; on the despatch sent to Gondomar,² the memoir of Philip III. which was presented to his son and successor by Porreño,³ and the more extended History compiled by his official chronicler Gil Gonzalez Davila.⁴

Philip the Third, after hearing mass on Sunday the 28th of Feb. 1621, [N.S.] felt indisposed. Fever soon made its appearance, accompanied with *erysipelas*—from which he had before suffered *severely*. He continued in the same state about a week, when symptoms more untoward supervened. On the 29th of March he commanded the attendance of his children. Addressing the Prince he said, “*He llamado para que veais en lo que fenece todo*”=*I have called you that you may see what is the end of all things*; and he recommended the Infanta Maria to his especial

² Addit. Ms. 4108. fol. 172. ³ Dichos, y Hechos de el Señor Rey D. Phelipe III. Por el Licenciado Porreño—*printed in* Memorias para la Historia de Don Felipe III. Rey de España. Recogidas por Don Juan Yañez. En Madrid, 1723. 4to. p. 222, etc. ⁴ Historia de la Vida y Hechos del inclito Monarca, amado y santo D. Felipe Tercero. Obra posthuma del Maestro Gil Gonzalez Davila—*printed in* Monarquía de España. Madrid, 1770-1. Fol. 3 vols.

care. The same night he received the sacraments and extreme unction. On the 30th he executed his will, the preparation of which had been ordered *two years before*; and he expired on the following morning. From the commencement of the disease, the King entertained no hopes of recovery. He seemed, says Davila, as certain of his approaching end *as if it had been revealed to him*.

We must not consider the objectionable narrative as the invention of D'Israeli, who never composes in so *non-vernacular* a style. It is evidently a translation from the French. From Amelot de la Housaye? I cannot find it; but there I find the *apocryphal* anecdote with which D'Israeli is so excessively delighted—the anecdote of Philippe de Comines and the boots!

But we pass over the *caricature*, to examine facts and dates. D'Israeli asserts that Philip III. died *in the twenty-fourth year of his age*.—The writer who attempts history, should bestow an occasional thought on the *art de vérifier les dates*. If Philip died in his twenty-fourth year, he must have been born about 1598. Did Gregorio Madera dedicate to him the *Pre-eminence of Spain* by anticipation?⁵ Did his father undertake to teach him the art of government before he could lisp in Spanish?⁶ Was our gallant Earl of Nottingham—with a suite of six hundred noblemen, knights, gentlemen, etc.—sent on an em-

⁵ Excelencias de la Monarchia de España, Valladolid, 1597. Fol.

⁶ Testimonio de las cosas qve passaron en la muerte de Phelipe II., Valencia, 1599. 4to. p. 110.

bassy to a child?⁷ The questions seem absurd—but they arise naturally out of the absurdity of the statement of D'Israeli. El Padre Mariana, whose historical volumes are sufficiently accessible, would have informed him that Philip died *in the forty-third year of his age*;⁸ and the renowned *historiador* Don Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, who had carefully studied the principles of his art, would have informed him that he was born on the 14th of April 1578 *at two of the clock in the morning*.⁹

D'Israeli produced the fiction in 1791. It is therefore one of those cases in which—assuming the correctness of certain calculations stated in the article on Cervantes—he *has misled more than twenty thousand of his readers!* That a writer on *Spanish etiquette*, and on *Spanish poetry*, should have made no more progress in *Spanish history* after forty years of additional research, is certainly one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * Behold a triumph! Behold the HERO OF OUR VERNACULAR LITERATURE—erect in the gilded chariot of popularity—clad in purple and embroidery like his own precious volumes—a crown of laurel on his head—his breast adorned with an *amulet* which repels criticism; behold with admiration! and hear the *periodical* shouts as he advances in solemn procession along the VIA TRIUMPHALIS towards the brazen

⁷ R. Treswell, *A Relation*, etc. 1605. 4to. pp. 2, 62. ⁸ *Historia General de España*, Madrid, 1780. Fol. ii. 927. ⁹ *De Historia, para entenderla y escribirla*, Madrid, 1611. 4to. + Filipe Segvndo, Madrid, 1619. Fol. p. 976.

portal of Bradenham House. Behold, alas ! the late Honorary Professor of Criticism—*fallen from his high estate*—laden with the chains of error—the victor himself acting the pantomime to add insult to misfortune; behold with commiseration ! and hear him lament, in the intervals of *IO TRIUMPHE*, that he should have exchanged his quiet pursuits for the din and jeopardy of warfare—lament, above all, that he should have had the temerity to cope with so experienced and redoubtable a chieftain !

Such are the soul-exciting ideas which the *ingenious* comment of Mr. D'Israeli on the above article is calculated to create—at the *first glance*. On examining it more attentively, we discover that this imposing effect is produced by; 1. A falsified quotation. 2. Three false assertions. 3. A flat contradiction; and 4. Two absurd inferences.

1. A falsified quotation.—I had remarked that “the writer who attempts history should bestow an occasional thought on the *art de vérifier les dates*.” This was an allusion—but no reference. When I call Mr. D'Israeli *l'étourdi*, is it a reference to *Molière*? When I state that liability to criticism is one of the *calamities of authors*, is it a reference to the work of D'Israeli? He felt the force of the objection; and in order to make it appear that I had cited a work without having consulted it, alters it to *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.

2. Three false assertions.—He asserts that his *caricature* narrative, with all the details, is to be found in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*. I deny it. The narrative stands thus: “Ce Prince fut la victime de l'étiquette.

Etant au Conseil, il se plaignit de la vapeur d'un brasier qui l'incommodoit, d'autant plus qu'il relevoit d'une grande maladie. L'Officier chargé du soin d'entretenir le feu étant absent, personne n'osa remplir son emploi. Cette délicatesse couta la vie au Monarque."¹⁰ He asserts that it is also to be found in the *Biographie Universelle*. I deny it. M. de Beauchamp, the author of that article, gives the above account almost *verbatim*.¹¹ I was aware of the anecdote as given in the *Art de vérifier les Dates*, and in the *Biographie Universelle* — works which were close to my professorial chair. I have since found it more fully stated by Desormeaux,¹² who cites no authority. The antipathy between the French and Spaniards is adverted to by Desormeaux as a notorious fact, and probably gave rise to the anecdote. I consider it as a French fabrication; and agree with a periodical critic in thinking "it certainly is incomprehensible how Mr. D'Israeli could credit such nonsense."¹³ Mr. D'Israeli then boldly refers to the *Art de vérifier les Dates* for an explanation of what he is pleased to call his *clerical error* in describing Philip as "dying in the twenty-fourth year of his age;" and saith, "For the word *age*, read *reign*." Verily, Mr. D'Israeli, thou art a genius of a peculiar cast. Dom Clément himself bears witness *against* thee! "Philippe meurt le 31 Mars, [1621] âgé de 43 ans moins 14 jours, dans la 23^e année de son règne."¹⁴

¹⁰ *Art de vérifier les Dates*, Paris, 1770. In-fol. p. 825.

¹¹ *Biog. Univ.*, xxxiv. 157.

¹² *Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne*, Paris, 1759-8. In-12. iv. 261.

¹³ *Athenæum*, 20 Jan. 1838.

¹⁴ *A. V. D.*, p. 823.

3. A flat contradiction.—Mr. D'Israeli thus quotes me *correctly* : “ We must not consider the objectionable narrative as the invention of D'Israeli”—and afterwards says, “ He accuses me of fabricating an anecdote in Spanish history,” etc.¹⁵ This is above the reach of ordinary intellects—and requires some of his own incomparable illustration.

4. Two absurd inferences.—I had stated that the anecdote is evidently a translation from the French—on account of its *gallicisms* : our anti-ratiocinative critic considers this as a proof of *anti-Gallic prejudice* ! He assumes its authenticity—because, as he pretends, it appears in the *Art de vérifier les Dates* : Dom Clément, to whom we owe the edition of 1770, denounces one portion of his own work as *plein d'inexactitudes*¹⁶—a mark of candour which deserves the especial notice of Mr. D'Israeli.

ART. XI.—The Rev. Samuel Purchas, M.A.—the *unheard-of* Traveller.

“ *Purchas, who, in the reign of our first James, had spent his life in travels to form his Relation of the World, when he gave it to the public, for the reward of his labours was thrown into prison, at the suit of his printer. Yet this was the book which, he informs Charles the First in his dedication, his father read every night with great profit and satisfaction.*”—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

I spoke with diffidence on Camoens—and even had recourse to a sort of invocation. I speak with

¹⁵ I. I., pp. 42, 78.

¹⁶ A. V. D., p. 911.

¹ C. L., i. 46.

confidence on Purchas—being more *at home* on the subject of Voyages and Travels. If an invocation did seem requisite, I should certainly invoke the Right Honorable Thomas Grenville.

The above short extract from one of the *classical and most charming essays* of D'Israeli (I characterise them in the *classical and most charming* diction of his enthusiastic eulogist Bulwer) contains THREE assertions which demand the application of my critical compasses.

He asserts that Purchas, *in the reign of our first James, had spent his life in travels to form his Relation of the World*.—Now, James I. ascended the throne on the 24th of March 1603, and Purchas had completed at the press his *Pilgrimage or Relations of the World*, a closely-printed folio of near 800 pages, before the expiration of the year 1612;² which leaves a short life to poor Purchas—and a short period for a pilgrimage over *Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent!* But this is a minor point. Did Purchas really practise the *art of transport by land and by water?* or did he pilgrimize in his library chair? Has he given us, like Humboldt, a *personal narrative* of travels? or is the volume a mere compilation? This is a question of considerable importance in the *history of our vernacular literature*—and therefore entitled to a right serious and ample discussion.

The earliest biographer of Purchas celebrates him as a philosopher, a historian, and a divine³—not as a

² Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, 1613. Fol. *Ded.*
Bibliotheca, Francofurti, 1628. 4to. Art. 53. p. 297.

³ Boissardi

traveller. He fabricates for him a distich which merits repetition :—

“ Gaudeat irriguus Ptolomæi nomine Nilus,
Ast Anglis primus sum Ptolomæus ego.”

Imitated.

Let the o'erflowing Nile in Ptolemy rejoice,
Me her first Ptolemy, proclaims the English voice.

Now, if the learned fabricator of this distich had considered Purchas to be a traveller, he might perhaps have compared him to Strabo—he certainly would not have compared him to Ptolemy. Fuller omits to notice Purchas among the *Worthies of England*. Anthony Wood celebrates him for the “natural genie he had to the *collecting* and writing of voyages, travels, and pilgrimages;”⁴ Bishop Kennet as a “laborious *collector* of travels and navigations;”⁵ the Rev. Philip Morant as “*compiler* of the very valuable collection of voyages which bears his name;”⁶ and M. de Larenaudière, a well-informed writer on such topics, says, “On doit à son zèle et à sa vaste érudition l'un des plus célèbres *recueils* de voyages qui aient été publiés.”⁷ In short, I can discover no writer who celebrates Purchas for his extraordinary locomotive achievements—no writer who classes him with Marco Polo, Ibn Batūta, Varthema, Teixeira, etc. instead of classing him with Fracanzani, Grynæus, Ramusio, Hakluyt, and Thevenot—except D'Israeli.

⁴ Athenæ Oxonienses, 1691-2. Fol. i. 821.
Ms. 984. fol. 114.

⁶ Biog. Brit., p. 3447.

⁵ Lansdowne
⁷ Biog. Univ.,
xxxvi. 324.

We are all liable to be misled by authorities ; but to hazard assertions without the semblance of authority is scarcely pardonable. I shall therefore so far advocate the cause of D'Israeli, as to point out some circumstances which favor his hypothesis.

Purchas adopted as his motto, ADVena sVM ego et peregrInVs In terrIs sICVt patres⁸ = "I am a stranger with thee, and a *pilgrim*, as all my fathers were;"⁹ he calls the *Pilgrimage* his "first voyage of discoverie;"¹⁰ he describes himself as "shipped for the new world;"¹¹ he speaks of the dangers to which he was subject "in passing along snowie and fierie hills, deceitfull vnwholesome bogges, scorching sandie plaines, wildernesses inhabited with wilde beasts, habitations peopled with wilder men;"¹² he mentions being "embarqued on the Peruvian coast" on his homeward voyage;¹³ and at the close of the narrative he exclaims with rapture, "now me thinkes I see the shores of England, from which my lingering pilgrimage hath long detained me : I heare the bells, and see the bon-fires," etc.¹⁴

But this language, if it has deceived a certain writer on *geographical style*,¹⁵ carries no conviction to the mind of the *Professor of Criticism*.

As to the motto, it is evidently a chronogram ; and I pronounce *ex cathedrâ* that the capitals should be read thus, A.MDCV VVVVIII — which was twelve years after the conclusion of the supposed pilgrimage.

⁸ Pilgrimes, *Front.* ⁹ Comp. Psalm xxxix. 12. and Hebrews, xi. 13. ¹⁰ Pilgrimage, 1613. *Ded.* ¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 601. ¹² *Ibid.* p. 737. ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 737. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 752.
¹⁵ C. L., i. 127.

I proceed to the other points. Purchas, it is true, speaks of his first voyage of discovery—but he admits that it made him indebted to Ramusio, Hakluyt, and *seuen hundred authors* ;¹⁶ he states that he was shipped for the new world—but we find that he sailed on an *inkie sea* ;¹⁷ we also find that after his escape from the snowy and fiery hills of Peru, he proposed to return by the *commoditie of a paper-barke* ;¹⁸ and as to his exclamations on the bells and bonfires which greeted him when he approached the shores of England—I apprehend he means to intimate that the last sheets of his work were sent to press on the *5th of November, 1612* !¹⁹

I shall now produce more decisive evidence. If Purchas travelled over *Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent*, how are we to interpret certain verses addressed to one of the noted travellers of those times, the Rev. Edward Terry ?

“ Though most geographers have the good hap
To travel in a safe expencelesse map,
And while the world to us they represent,
No further yet then Pilgrim *Purchas* went,
Past *Dovers* dreadfull cliffe afraid to go”—²⁰

Fiction often lurks in prose—and truth sometimes discovers itself in verse. Creswell, the author of these lines, was perfectly correct in his allusion. Purchas compiled his *Pilgrimage* at the obscure village of Eastwood, amidst the “*daily cares of his family, and the weekly duties of preaching and cate-*

¹⁶ *Pilgrimage*, 1613. *Cat. and Ded.* ¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 601.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 737. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 752 + edit. 1614. p. 918. ²⁰ *Voyage to East-India*, 1655. 8vo. Sig. A 8.

chising ;"²¹ and declares that he "*neuer travelled two hundred miles*" from his native town—THAXTED IN ESSEX!²²

D'Israeli then asserts that Purchas, when he gave his *Pilgrimage* to the public, for the reward of his labours was thrown into prison, at the suit of his printer. —To this assertion, propounded with all the technical preciseness of a learned civilian, I attach not an atom of credit. The work was never printed at the expense of Purchas. The first edition, which bears the date of 1613, was printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone. It is clear therefore that the printer could have no claim on Purchas: the transactions as to copyright were no doubt between Fetherstone and Purchas—who could not have been the debtor. I venture to advance another step: I deny the existence of evidence that he was ever thrown into prison, or even became involved in debt, on account of his publications.

Purchas has left us some pointed remarks on the vocation of a bookseller, a printer, etc.²³ He complains that the "stationer or booke-seller" hires the printer as an "vnderling, and suckes out his sweetest gaines;" but, prone as he is to introduce his private affairs, he does not describe *himself* as a sufferer—he makes no allusion to the walls of a prison. The *Pilgrimage* was in fact one of the most successful publications of that period. It was reprinted by Stansby for Fetherstone in 1614, in 1617, and in 1626; and Purchas assures us that he had been "*often quarrelled*

²¹ *Pilgrimage*, 1613. *Ded.* ²² *Pilgrimes*, 1625. Fol. iv. 1980. ²³ *Pilgrim*, 1619. 8vo. p. 522.

*for forcing men by frequent additions in later editions to renew their purchase of Purchas his renewed Pilgrimage."*²⁴

I am aware that Wood, after enumerating the works of Purchas, adds, "by the publishing of which books he brought himself into debt;"²⁵ but the vagueness of this assertion rather diminishes its authority.

I do not mean to contend that Purchas was never in necessitous circumstances. He held, indeed, the vicarage of Eastwood in Essex, and the rectory of Saint Martin, Ludgate—which he describes as a "benifice not of the worst;" but in 1618 he had the misfortune to lose a brother-in-law, leaving him "the cares of another family, the widdow and the fatherlesse," and also his own brother Daniel, leaving him "to pay manifold debts, and to provide for his foure little fatherlesse and motherlesse orphans."²⁶ To those events we should no doubt attribute his poverty. His own testimony seems decisive: he complains that he was "*almost executed by executorship.*"²⁷ He so far, however, recovered from the effects of those very disheartening events, as to pass the summers of 1621-4 in the new polemical college at Chelsea—assiduously occupied in preparing for the press his *Pilgrimes*;²⁸ and on the 31st of May 1625, he was in possession of "*house and lands with other goods.*"²⁹

²⁴ Pilgrimage, 1626. Fol. Ded. to Abp. Abbot. ²⁵ A. O., i. 822. ²⁶ Pilgrim, 1619. 8vo. Preface. ²⁷ Ibid. ²⁸ Pilgrimes, 1625. Fol. To the Reader. ²⁹ Transcript of his Will.

As I have controverted the authority of Anthony Wood, on this and other occasions, it is fit that I should apologize to his Oxonian admirers. I readily admit the vast importance of his laborious compilations; I admit that he took extreme pains to draw truth from her almost impenetrable recesses; but he was not always successful, and was liable to be misled by interested and credulous correspondents. His account of Purchas is incomplete and erroneous. He could not decide where he was born: Purchas himself informs us he was born at Thaxted.³⁰ He could not ascertain in what college at Cambridge he was educated: Purchas names the college of Saint John.³¹ He ascribes to him a sermon on Psalm 39. 5: it is no doubt the *Pilgrim* which he had before mentioned. He states that he died about 1628: now if he had read on six lines in the work cited, he would have found—*obiit anno præsentis seculi XXVI.*

The truth is that Purchas, *often admonished by infirmities*, made his will on the 31st of May 1625, and died before the end of September 1626;³² and I cannot omit to point out as a remarkable circumstance, that Wood should cite the article in which his death is correctly recorded; yet overlook the fact—and that his error should have been copied by some of the most

³⁰ *Pilgrimes*, 1625. Fol. iv. 1980.

³¹ *Ibid.* iii, *Ded.*

³² "Register of Burials of Saint Martin, Ludgate, London. '1626. The Last of September Mr Samewell Purchas our pson.—I certify the above is a true copy taken this 27th of March 1836. Witness my hand. W. G. Huët, M. A. Officiating Minister."

assiduous inquirers into English biography, Bishop Kennet, the Rev. Philip Morant, Mr. Alexander Chalmers, etc.

Having narrated the untimely fate of Purchas, I shall revert to his *earliest biographer*. Wood calls him a *learned person*; ³³ Morant is more circumstantial, calling him a *learned foreigner*; ³⁴ Chalmers, adopting the language of his predecessors, calls him *Boissard* ³⁵—Boissard! who had been in his grave a quarter of a century! ³⁶ I take this mysterious writer to have been a *learned Englishman*.—Now for the proofs and illustrations. We open *Icones quingvaginta virorum etc. cum eorum vitis descriptis a I. I. Boissardo. Francofurti, 1597. 4to.* We place by its side, *Bibliotheca siue Thesaurus virtutis et gloriæ: etc. per I. I. Boissardum. Francofurti, sumptibus Gvilielmi Fitzeri. Anno 1628.* It proves to be a new edition of the *Icones quingvaginta*. We remark on the title, “Accesserunt clariss. aliquot virorum effigies & vitæ nunc recens conscriptæ”—and among these *viri clarissimi* appears Samuel Purchas. We then examine *II. Pars Iconum, etc. Francofurti apud Guil. Fitzerum, 1630. 4to.* In the dedication to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, we read, after an allusion to the taste of Pliny for the memorials of ancient worthies, and a remark that nature still produced men entitled to admiration, “Ostendent id ad viuum expressa *εικωνισματα* doctissimorum virorum, quæ annis superioribus Theodorus de Bry, socer meus clarissimæ

³³ A. O., 1691-2. i. 822. ³⁴ Biog. Brit., p. 3448. ³⁵ Gen. Biog. Dict., 1798. xii. 420 + Ibid. 1812, etc. xxv. 385. ³⁶ Weiss, Biog. Univ., v. 26.

memoriæ, dædala sua dextra exsculpsit; quæque ego novis quibusdam sideribus præsentis sæculi adauxi.”—and this dedication is signed, “Guilielmus Fitzer Anglus Librarius Francof.”—The chain of evidence seems complete. It may be confidently announced that the earliest biographer of Purchas was William Fitzer, a *learned Englishman*—established as a publisher at Frankfort, and son-in-law to John Theodore de Bry. We cease to wonder that this *learned person*—this *learned foreigner*—this *Boissard*—should commemorate an Englishman. We cease to wonder that he should commemorate Purchas in preference to Raleigh, Camden, Bacon, etc.—for the *Pilgrimes* of Purchas furnished the chief materials of the twelfth part of the *Petits Voyages* of De Bry and his successors, which part was edited by Fitzer,³⁷ and the frontispiece of the work furnished him with the portrait of Purchas.

I ask pardon for this short excursion—which my exploratory genius irresistibly impelled me to undertake—and shall now endeavour to recover the road to Bradenham House.

D’Israeli asserts, in conclusion, that James I. read the *Pilgrimage every night with great profit and satisfaction*.—I take this to be an instance of hallucination. Purchas, speaking of the *Pilgrimes*—a work which differs from the *Pilgrimage* “both in the object and subject”—assures us that his Majesty made the volumes “his nightly taske, till God called him by fatall sicknesse to a better pilgrim-

³⁷ Camus, Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages, Paris, 1802. In-4. p. 271, etc.

age;"³⁸ so that if the words *read every night*, etc. are to be considered as a modern version of *made them his nightly taske*, etc. they are evidently misapplied.

Master Purchas, it should be stated, was excessively addicted to harping on one string. He styles himself a *pilgrim*; he entitles one of his publications his *Pilgrimage*³⁹—which contains, as he expresses it, "actions, factions, fractions of religions and states;" another publication he entitles his *Pilgrim*⁴⁰—in which he declaims on the vanities of life "not for flashes of wittie lightnings, or of thundering affrighting rhetorikes," etc.; and another his *Pilgrimes*⁴¹—which he describes as "a world of histories composed into a historie of the world." The *Pilgrimes* was the work which James I. made his *nightly taske* in the short period which elapsed between its publication and the close of his life. The *Pilgrimage* had, for some years, been one of his favorite volumes; and, as Purchas assures us, his Majesty "*professed freely that he had read the worke SEVEN TIMES*"⁴²—a circumstance which would appear incredible to those who are not aware that Purchas, whatever be his merit as a collector and editor of *Voyages and Travels*, was in his own compositions the very PRINCE OF QUIBBLERS!

I shall now deliver my critical sentence.—That a D.C.L. of the university of Oxford and F.S.A. of London—that a man who has been extolled for his

³⁸ *Pilgrimage*, 1626. *Ded. to Charles I.* ³⁹ Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, 1613. Fol. ⁴⁰ Purchas his *Pilgrim*, 1619. 8vo.

⁴¹ Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, 1625. Fol. 4 parts. ⁴² *Pilgrimage*, 1626. *Ded.*

*love and knowledge of literary history*⁴³—should circulate such extraordinary fictions on a subject of which the facts were so accessible—a subject so interesting to a nation justly proud of her navigators and travellers—is a circumstance which is henceforth to be considered as entitled to an *eminent station* among the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * To my extreme humiliation, it appears that our commentator is no admirer of the above elaborate article on the Rev. Samuel Purchas. Thus *irreverently* thereon doth he venture to emit his critical sentence: “After all his facetious researches, and the parade of his authorities, this recondite bibliographer has only revealed a circumstance to be found in the most *common sources*, and even in Alexander Chalmers !” Mr. D’Israeli may be very familiar with *common sources* ; but I hold up his sentence as the *romance of literary history* — and between us let the critics decide.

The allusion to some relationship between *common sources* and *Alexander Chalmers*, leads me to undertake another excursion—in the same description of vehicle as was adopted by Master Purchas in his travels over Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent !

I have admitted Mr. Alexander Chalmers to be one of the most assiduous inquirers into British biography ; but must declare that I have never consulted the *General Biographical Dictionary* with even a tolerable share of satisfaction. The remarks imply no inconsistency. The enterprise was above the

⁴³ J. W. Croker, *Life of Johnson*, 1831. 8vo. Preface, p. xxii.

powers of an individual; and required, as Bacon expresses it, the *conjunction of labours*. It may be sufficient to state, in defence of this opinion, that the new edition contains about two thousand *re-written* articles, and near four thousand additional lives!

The article on Purchas is extremely defective. His earliest biographer is misnamed; his death is misdated; his *Pilgrim* is misdated; and the *Pilgrimes*, his most important work, is described as a portion of the *Pilgrimage*—from which it differs both in the *object and subject*. Other articles which have been examined, proved not superior to that on Purchas; and the result of such experience is, that I could never persuade myself to cite the work as an authority.

The *Biographie Universelle*, to which I have made frequent references, is the conjoint production of more than three hundred writers. The superiority of its execution is commensurate with the superiority of its plan. In this capital work we have Newton and Bradley historised and appreciated by Biot; Wren, by Quatremère de Quincy; Smeaton and Rennie, by De Prony; Ray, G. Edwards, Pennant, etc. by Cuvier; Dampier and Cook, by De Rossel; Dawes and Markland, by Boissonade. Other similar instances might be produced; but it is certain that no *general biography*, and especially one of foreign construction, can supply all the information which is required in a *national biography*.

A new British Biography is therefore a desideratum. A substantial collection appeared in the *General Dictionary* in 1734-41; of which a vast portion

was contributed by the Rev. Thomas Birch. The *Biographia Britannica* followed in 1747-66. The chief writers were the Rev. Thomas Broughton, Dr. Campbell, the Rev. Philip Morant, Dr. Nicolls, W. Oldys, etc. The secession of Campbell, and the death of Oldys, had an unfavorable effect on the latter volumes. The non-completion of the *Biographia Literaria*, and of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, were unfortunate events in the history of our national biography; and the *General Biographical Dictionary* has now become the chief repertory—on which, with every respect for the memory of its editor, I have ventured to deliver my opinion.

I must repeat that a *British Biography*—a work of moderate extent, and just proportions—based on adequate research, and accompanied by references to the authorities—composed by men whose abilities and pursuits would qualify them to appreciate the subjects introduced—men who would unreservedly contribute the produce of their studies in honor of departed merit, and for the instruction of our contemporaries and of posterity—is a desideratum of imperious urgency; and it gratifies me to learn that the Royal Society of Literature has some such project under consideration. The Camden Society would no doubt join in the promotion of so congenial and patriotic an enterprise.

As I have disserted rather seriously on Alexander Chalmers, on British biography, and on the *conjunction of labours*, it may be desirable to add a spice of entertainment—which an exposition of the ingenuity of our commentator in palliating his error, cannot

fail to afford. He states that the name of Purchas appears *incidentally* in his lucubrations; and that the *real purport* was to illustrate the poverty of the learned. He pathetically pleads his own youthful inexperience; and, though Purchas never deceived more than ONE writer, and his over-credulous admirers, he condemns him for *entrapping* his readers by "*ridiculous personifications of himself as a traveller.*" This he very deliberately calls a *cheerful acknowledgement of his mistake!* He does not attempt to explain how this absurd error escaped the "*continued corrections of successive editions.*" He does not attempt to account for the stationary nature of his intellectual property. In short, he seems to have no idea of the important fact—that those who are born with a superfluity of conceit seldom acquire a superfluity of information.

ART. XII.—The Rev. Samuel Purchas, M.A.—sipping coffee at Constantinople, anno 1614.

"Our own Purchas, at the time that Valle wrote, was also 'a Pilgrim,' and well knew what was 'Coffa,' which 'they drank as hot as they can [sic] endure it; it is as black as soot, and tastes not much unlike it; good they say for digestion and mirth.'"—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

The name of Purchas has a remarkable effect on

¹ C. L., iv. 95.

D'Israeli: it quite sets in motion his imaginative faculties. A want of sensibility to the species of fiction in which he excels, has indeed tempted me to check some of his flights; and, like the *critical and fastidious Fadladeen*, I shall now repeat the operation.

Pietro Della Valle left Venice on his travels the 8th of June, and reached Constantinople the 15th of August, 1614.² Purchas had completed his pilgrimage, whether real or imaginary, in 1612.³ Are we to assume that he undertook a *second* pilgrimage over *Asia, Africa, and America, with the islands adjacent*? It is utterly incredible; and the sole point for consideration therefore is, did he have recourse to coffee to counteract the effects of the *grossnesse of the aire* at Eastwood in Essex?

A glance at the early history of coffee will decide this point.—Von Hammer seems to state that it was introduced into the Ottoman empire about the year 1555.⁴ Rauwolff, a learned botanist, who passed some months at Aleppo in 1573-4, found *Chaube*, or coffee, in common use at that celebrated emporium, and on sale in all the bazars.⁵ M. de Monfart, a *brave spirit*, who made an over-land journey to Canton in 1608, (I commend him to the notice of M. de Larenaudière) assures us that “a certaine drinke called *Caahiete* as blacke as inke” was “drunke from *Turkey to China*,” and, with true French taste, de-

² Voyages de P. Della Vallé, Paris, 1745. In-12. i. 2, 30.

³ Pilgrimage, 1613. Fol. *Ded.*

⁴ Silvestre de Sacy, *Journal des Savans*, 1832. p. 733.

⁵ Collection of Travels. By J. Ray. 1693. 8vo. i. 92.

scribes it as "*exceeding wholesome and good.*"⁶ But this notable panegyric of M. de Monfart, which passed the London press in 1615, appears to have made no impression on the merchants composing our East India and Levant Companies.⁷ Lord Bacon indeed, who died in 1626, a short time before Purchas, minutely describes the culinary process and qualities of *Coffa*—but not as an *experimental* philosopher: his Lordship announces it as a drink which *they have in Turkey*.⁸ Evelyn, the inquisitive Evelyn, informs us that Nathaniel Conopios, a Cretan, who was placed by Archbishop Laud at Balliol college, Oxford, between 1637-40, was the "*first he ever saw drink coffee;*"⁹ and Wood received similar information from some of the *ancients* of that college.¹⁰ We must decide, on this accumulation of evidence, that Purchas knew not the luxury of coffee—and that the assertion of D'Israeli is one of the flights of his imaginative faculties.

I shall now state the plain *facts*. In 1615 the accomplished George Sandys published his elaborate description of the Turkish Empire, Ægypt, the Holyland, etc.¹¹ He reached Constantinople on the 1st of October 1610, and having passed near four months in the house of Sir Thomas Glover, ambassador from James I. to Sultan Achmet, was well qualified to de-

⁶ Exact and curiours survey of all the East Indies, 1615. 4to. pp. 28, 39. ⁷ L. Roberts, Merchants Mappe of Commerce, 1638. Fol. *passim*.

⁸ Sylva Sylvarum, 1626. Fol. No. 738.

⁹ Memoirs, 1818. 4to. i. 7. ¹⁰ Athenæ Oxonienses, 1691-2. ii.

658. ¹¹ A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610. 1615. Fol.

scribe the manners of the Turks. He thus remarks on the use of coffee:—

[The Turks] “sippe of a drinke called Coffa (of the berry that it is made of) in little *China* dishes, as hot as they can suffer it: blacke as soote, and tasting not much vnlike it . . . which helpeth, as they say, digestion, and procureth alacrity.”¹²

In 1617 Purchas published a third and much enlarged edition of his *Pilgrimage*. He divided Book III. Chap. 10. into paragraphs, and availing himself of the narrative of Sandys to form the paragraph, *Of the Turkish manners*—repeated, with some slight variation, the above remarks on coffee.¹³

The worthy Purchas, it is clear, intended no deception—for he admits, at the commencement of the paragraph, that he *views the Turks with the eyes of Master George Sandys!* The maker of a scrap-book, however, can seldom spare time to examine the context. He does not (as Stow is reported to have done) *lay down the shears to take up the pen*,¹⁴ but takes up the scissors or the pen according to circumstances; and having, by *ex-scission*, transcription, and other facile operations, assembled a convenient quantity of materials, and placed them in *most admired disorder*—perchance dignifies the motley assemblage with the title of *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * * The name of our new Illustrator has been enrolled, for more than twenty years, among the historians of *coffee*. He has declined, however, to notice

¹² A Relation, etc. 1615. Fol. pp. 28, 66.
1617. Fol. p. 340.

¹⁴ C. L., i. 330.

¹³ Pilgrimage,

the Constantinopolitan anecdote separately. Now, I maintain that the occasional use of coffee might have had a beneficial influence on his lucubrations; and that it was injudicious to treat with contempt a potable which was denied to Virgil himself—which Voltaire adored—which inspired the verses of Delille:—

“ Il est une liqueur au poète bien chère,
Qui manquait à Virgile, et qu'adorait Voltaire;
C'est toi, divin Café, dont l'aimable liqueur,
Sans altérer la tête, épanouit le cœur !”

ART. XIII. — A glance into the French Academy — with a history of certain arm-chairs.

“ In the republic of letters the establishment of an academy has been a favourite project; yet perhaps it is little more than an Utopian scheme. The united efforts of men of letters in Academies have produced little.”—
I. D'ISRAELI.¹

D'Israeli entitles his article *A glance into the French Academy*, but commences with one of his smart paragraphs on academies *en masse*. He formerly declared that the *perfection of criticism* was owing to the establishment of academies.² He now views them as *Utopian schemes*; and has even the hardihood to pronounce that we must not expect “any continuity of investigation, any curiosity of re-

¹ C. L., ii. 238.

² C. L., 1791. 8vo. p. 170.

search from the labour of many."³ A reply would be superfluous—and might subject me to the charge of excessive condescension; but I shall submit two short excerpts to his *sober* consideration:—

"Let ~~this~~ ground therefore [of the increase and advancement of learning] be layd, that all workes are ouercōmen by amplitude of reward, by soundnesse of direction, and by *the coniunction of labors.*"—BACON.⁴

"Les gouvernemens sages, convaincus de l'utilité des sociétés savantes . . . les envisagent comme *l'un des principaux fondemens de la gloire et de la prospérité des empires.*"—LA-PLACE.⁵

D'Israeli then casts a *glance into the French Academy*, partly through the *coloured spectacles* of *Furetière*. The Academy was founded in 1635;⁶ and the statutes required the composition of a *Dictionary*, a *Grammar*, a didactic treatise on *Rhetoric*, and on *Poetry*. The *Dictionary* alone has appeared; but D'Israeli silently passes over what the Academy has omitted to perform—to twit it on what it has performed! He remarks that the *Dictionary of Furetière* became a *formidable rival* to that of the Academy. Is it *now* a formidable rival? He adds that Johnson *did as much as the forty themselves*. This is a very flat version of David Garrick:—

"And Johnson, well-arm'd like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more!"⁷

³ Athenæum, 1835. p. 626.
ing, 1605. 4to. Sig. Aa verso.

⁶ Exposition du Système du Monde, Paris, 1824. In-8. ii. 345.

⁴ Of the Proficiency of Learning
⁵ Pellisson, Histoire de l'Académie Française, Paris, 1730. In-12. i. 4, 30.

⁷ Boswell, Life of Johnson, 1811. 8vo. i. 282.

The dictionaries scarcely admit of a comparison: they rather form a contrast. The Academy gives no *etymologies* — which Johnson seldom omits. But, Johnson passes over the *pronunciation*: the Academy notices all its exceptions. Johnson very frequently *explains* one word by another: the Academy almost always defines, and its definitions are models of philosophical precision. Johnson borrows his *examples* from other writers, so that ten lines are sometimes required to introduce one word: the Academy has formed the chief portion of its examples—which are more pertinent, much more concise, and infinitely more numerous.—The work of Johnson does him honor as an individual: that of the Academy is much superior to it—because it has been produced by the *conjunction of labours*.⁸

The Academy has other claims to commendation. The very existence of it is a stimulus to perfection. The *discours de réception* of its members form a rich assemblage of didactic and critical papers; and I may mention that of Buffon, as worth all the treatises of rhetoric from Aristotle to Whately. The reports which they make on works of importance keep alive the spirit of *classical* composition. The subjects proposed as prize essays have called forth the talents of Laharpe, Marmontel, Villemain, etc. — and even its public meetings (I could speak as an eye-witness on the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*)

⁸ A Dictionary of the English Language, etc. By Samuel Johnson, LL.D. 1785. 4to. 2 vols. + Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, sixième édition. [Avec une préface par M. Villemain.] Paris, 1835. In-4. 2 vol.

cannot but operate as an excitement to emulation.⁹

I have now to notice the arm-chairs. In 1713 M. de la Monnoye, on the invitation of Cardinal d'Estrées, etc. offered himself as candidate for a vacant seat in the Academy.¹⁰ At the mature age of seventy-two he cherished an *Utopian scheme*. The academicians who were cardinals had for some time absented themselves from the meetings, because they were not allowed arm-chairs—a distinction reserved for the three members who held office.¹¹ The cardinals were anxious to vote for their candidate; and an expedient which would reconcile their notions of dignity with the principles of academic equality, was a special desideratum. D'Israeli asserts, in *this* instance on no mean authority, that Louis XIV. hit on the expedient, and sent *forty* arm-chairs for the forty members. I disbelieve both his assertions—shall seat myself in one of the arm-chairs—and examine the minutes:—

“ Sa Majesté approuve entièrement les changemens qui ont été proposés par l'académie française pour les sièges à bras, du moment qu'il n'y a rien de contraire dans les statuts et réglemens.

Je suis ravi en mon particulier que cet expédient, qui paraît très-convenable, procure à l'académie la satisfaction de jouir de ce qu'elle a de plus illustre, etc.

[M. de Pontchartrain—au marquis de Dangeau—4 Nov. 1713.]

⁹ Almanach Royal, In-8. + Choix de Discours de Réception, Paris, 1814. In-8. 2 vol. + Couronnes Academiques, Paris, 1787. In-8. 2 vol. + Daunou, Journal des Savans, 1816-36. ¹⁰ G. Peignot, Nouvelles Recherches sur La Monnoye, Dijon, 1832. In-8. p. 33. ¹¹ Raynouard, J. des S., 1832. p. 232.

En même temps M. de Fontanieu, intendant des meubles de la couronne, eut ordre de faire porter du garde-meuble *trente* fauteuils à l'académie, en attendant qu'on en eût fait de neufs.

6 Novembre, M. de Fontanieu, intendant des meubles, a fait apporter à la salle de l'académite, au Louvre, *trente* fauteuils."¹²

I have now to deliver my sentence on the *anti-academic sally* of D'Israeli. It must be admitted that the *united efforts of men of letters* could not have produced it—and I therefore pronounce it to be one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * Our sharp-sighted Illustrator pretends that the arm-chairs were the *preponderating objects* of my meditations on the above occasion. The conclusion of the article proves the reverse: I did not even allude to the arm-chairs. His *anti-academic* remark was the main object in view—a remark, however, which I may have censured too seriously. It appears to have been only one of the pioneers of his intended *history of our vernacular literature*—on which the public in general, and the ghost of Ritson in particular, have been so cruelly tantalized.

As the history of the arm-chairs may be a subject better suited to my homely pen than the utility of academies, I shall return to it. Mr. D'Israeli admits that I have been enabled to correct him as to their number—by some "*obscure researches*." The source of information, so obscure to this Illustrator, was the *Journal des Savants*! He considers that I owe it to the public to search after the "*TEN unaccounted for Louis Quatorzes*!" It would be beneath

¹² Raynouard, *Ibid.* p. 233.

my antiquarian dignity; and I therefore commission our *dealer in curiosities*.

ART. XIV.—*La Guirlande de Julie*—with curious specimens of history and ratiocination.

“Receuez, ô Nympe adorable,
Dont les cœurs reçoivent les loix,
Cette COURONNE plus durable
Que celle que l’on met sur la teste des Roys.”
M. le Marquis de Montausier—à Julie.¹

Could I borrow the pen which immortalized Lalla Rookh, or dip that which I hold in a *rainbow*, it might be possible to express myself in suitable terms on *La Guirlande de Julie*—but it is not to be believed that Thomas Moore would lend his pen, and the other expedient may not be practicable. I promise, therefore, no more than a plain statement of facts.

La Guirlande de Julie, a manuscript embellished with paintings, was devised by M. le Marquis de Montausier (afterwards Duc de Montausier, and *Gouverneur du Dauphin*, son of Louis XIV.) as a gift to Julie Lucine d’Angennes de Rambouillet, of whom he was the avowed admirer. It was presented in 1641. The Marquis was one of the finest characters of his time, a man *orné de toutes sortes de vertus*; and Julie was pronounced to be *incomparable*.²—Her

¹ *Guirlande de Julie*, Paris, 1784. In-8. p. 3. ² H. de La-
porte, *Biog. Univ.*, xxix. 456-62.

portrait, by Mignard, is preserved in the Spencer collection at Althorp.

The volume is in folio, and consists of ninety-eight leaves of vellum. The preliminary portion contains two titles, a Zephyr breathing on a garland of twenty-nine flowers, the madrigal of which a fragment appears above, and four blank leaves. The twenty-nine flowers painted on separate leaves by Nicolas Robert, and sixty-one madrigals by M. de Montausier, M. Conrart, M. des Marets, M. de Malleville, etc. occupy the remainder of the volume. The writing was executed by the inimitable Nicolas Jarry. The volume, which is bound in red morocco stamped with the cipher of Julie,³ has ornamented the libraries of M. de Gaignières, M. l'Abbé de Rothelin, M. de Boze, M. le Président de Cotte, M. Gaignat, and M. le Duc de la Vallière. It was purchased by Mr. Thomas Payne in 1784; is said to have been brought to England; to have re-crossed the channel; and to be now the property of the descendants of the Duc de la Vallière.⁴

If D'Israeli had made no attempts at facts or inferences in the article under consideration—if he had merely wrapped up *La Guirlande de Julie* in his own *spangled* phraseology—he would have acted with discretion; but he essayeth to describe the *nature*.

³ M. Van Praet, Cat. de M. de la Vallière, ii. 382, etc. M. de Gaignières, Supp., p. 57. + G. de J., 1784. Notice. ⁴ H. de Laporte, Biog. Univ., xxix. 462. Messrs. Payne and Foss, and Mr. R. H. Evans, have favored me with their recollections on this subject. They cannot speak positively; and I suspect the article was purchased under an injunction of secrecy.

of the gift, and to give the *history of the parties*.⁵ With what success, shall be made evident.

The bibliographical part of his essay, in which he transforms a *Zephyr* into a *Cupid painted to the life*, is extremely curious—but I shall produce, in preference, half-a-dozen specimens of history and ratiocination.

1. He asserts that *La Guirlande de Julie* was a *new-year's gift*.—I shall call it a *name-day gift*;⁶ but, if he can prove that the *jour de l'an*, and the *jour de la fête de Julie*, coincided—let him take the benefit of such coincidence. 2. He intimates that Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden preoccupied the heart of Julie.—Gustavus married when Julie was a child;⁷ and his consort, the heroic Eleonora, survived him.⁸ 3. He asserts that the gift was presented a *short time after the death of Gustavus*.—Shakspeare informs us how time travels on certain occasions. Shall we estimate this *short time* at three months? It was nine years!⁹ 4. He asserts that the gift was *successful*.—The charm, at all events, was slow in its operation—for Julie did not pronounce the welcome monosyllable till four years afterwards,¹⁰ and was then near *forty*!¹¹ The Marquis had not spared the epithets *aimable, incomparable, adorable*¹²—but Julie was *inex-*

⁵ C. L., i. 363. ⁶ N. Petit, *Vie de M. le Duc de Montausier*, Paris, 1729. In-12. ii. 134. ⁷ *Art de vérifier les Dates*, 1783, etc. ii. 100.—H. de Laporte, *Biog. Univ.*, xxix. 460.

⁸ W. Harte, *Hist. of Gustavus Adolphus*, 1759. 4to. ii. 304, etc.

⁹ A. V. D., ii. 101. ¹⁰ N. Petit, *V. de M.*, i. 83. ¹¹ H. de Laporte, *Biog. Univ.*, xxix. 460.

¹² G. de J., pp. 3, 19, 45, etc.

orable. The Queen and Cardinal Mazarin interposed their influence; and Julie, after a courtship of twice seven years, married in *obedience to parental authority*!¹³ The Marquis obtained her heart—but it was a post-nuptial gift.¹⁴ 5. He asserts that *La Guirlande* found its way to England in the *French revolution*.—Rabaut de Saint-Etienne was not aware that the revolution commenced so early as 1784.¹⁵ It is one of the historical *discoveries* of D'Israeli. 6. He states, with unwonted correctness, that *La Guirlande* was sold in 1770 for 780 livres, and in 1784 for 14510 livres. He does not state that it was ever sold for a smaller sum—yet holds up the history of it as a *lesson* to collectors. A choice specimen of ratiocination! The facts, as stated by himself, tend to prove the reverse of his inference.

Historical accuracy, and an approach to ratiocination, are desirable on all points—but on minor deviations who would be severe? I shall therefore wave further criticism—however astonished that D'Israeli should have bestowed no more pains when writing on so brilliant a specimen of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * In connexion with this sentimental subject, Mr. D'Israeli bestows on me divers unseemly names; to wit: *Hurliothrumbo, solemn idiot, atom of spite, clod*, etc. The *real* provocation was not slight: I had precluded in a style too ambitiously ornate; and had unfeelingly applied to that of Mr. D'Israeli the too cha-

¹³ N. Petit, V. de M., i. 83. ¹⁴ Ibid. i. 84. ¹⁵ G. de J., p. xv.

racteristic epithet *spangled* ! The alleged provocation was, that I had mis-stated facts.

I repeat it, *La Guirlande de Julie* was a *name-day gift*. M. de Gaignières, one of the earliest possessors of the Ms., assures us that it was presented "*le jour de la fête de Julie*;" and the editors of the verses, in 1729 and 1784, confirm the statement of M. de Gaignières. Huet, I am aware, says otherwise;¹⁶ but, as the Abbé d'Olivet informs us, his memory was much impaired when he wrote his *pensées*.¹⁷ He had ceased to be a *man of facts*; and his affliction is nowhere more obvious than in the account which he gives of *La Guirlande de Julie*.

Mr. D'Israeli then says, with more than sufficient grandiloquence, that Julie "declared and *all France* repeated it, that she was *in love with Gustavus*, and refused to have any other lover." I deny it. Huet says, "*Julie faisoit paroître une grande admiration pour la valeur de ce Prince. Elle avoit son portrait dans sa ruelle, & prenoit plaisir à dire qu'elle ne vouloit point d'autre galant que lui.*" It is easy to conceive that Julie admired the valour of Gustavus, but that is no proof of love; and if she *had* unfortunately fallen in love with the hero, she would not have *told her love*. Now, it grieves me to disenchant Mr. *Quintessence of Sentimentality* touching the fair Julie; but, in truth, she was the very antipode of a romantic lover. She was accustomed to say, "*Que les hommes lui avoient appris à aimer les bêtes !*"¹⁸ She

¹⁶ Huétiana, Paris, 1722. In-12. p. 104.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. xvii.

¹⁸ Paroles Mémorables, recueillies par Gab. Brotier, Paris, 1790. In-8. p. 263.

had an *aversion to marriage*; ¹⁹ and her admiration of Gustavus was one of her convenient *excuses*. There are always resources on such occasions. She would sometimes say, “qu’elle ne comprenoit pas comment on pouvoit de sang froid se donner un Maître; que les hommes le sont toujours, quoiqu’ils puissent dire; & que pour elle, elle renonceroit le plus tard qu’elle pourroit à sa liberté.” ²⁰

This information may be new to Mr. D’Israeli; and I hope our *giant of sagacity*, our *oracle of psychology*, our *patentee of sentimentality*, may be able to comprehend it — for it forms a part of the “*history of the heart*.”

ART. XV.—The true sources of *Secret History*—now first disclosed by I. D’Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.

“TRUE SOURCES OF SECRET HISTORY. *This is a subject which has been hitherto but imperfectly comprehended even by some historians themselves;*”—I. D’ISRAELI. ¹

Herodotus, in the exordium of his venerable writings, incidentally gives an excellent definition of history. Sallust and Livy have also left some sensible remarks on its utility; and if we descend to the times in which intellect shone with diminished splen-

¹⁹ N. Petit, *Vie de M.*, i. 46. ²⁰ *Ibid.* i. 46-7. ¹ C. L., vi. 197.

dour, we find *Mestre Wace* state its object with equal propriety and terseness:—

“ Por remembrer des ancessours
Li fez è li diz è li mours—”²

D'Israeli, however, announces an improved description of history—which he denominates *secret history*. He seems to have intended a definition of it; but it is impossible to define what is *imperfectly comprehended*. We observe indeed, in the course of twenty pages of declamation, two fragments of a definition, viz. that “*Secret history is the supplement of history itself, and is its great corrector* ;” and that “*there are obviously two species ; it is positive, or it is relative*.” It appears from the first fragment that *secret history* is not *history itself*, but something superior to it. It appears from the second fragment, in connexion with some additional remarks, that *secret history* is *positive* when the *facts are first given to the world*—that it is *positive secret history* when it ceases to be *secret* ; and *relative*, in *proportion to the knowledge of those to whom it is communicated*—which may be said with equal correctness of the *positive*, and indeed of every description of knowledge from the sounds of A B C to the *Principia* of Newton.

Facts and opinions are within the reach of criticism; but inane declamation does not possess the same tangibility—and, besides, criticism is too precious an article to be thrown away. If D'Israeli had consulted Father Griffet, he would have furnished him with some *positive* notions on the sources of his-

² Roman de Rou, Rouen, 1827. In-8. i. 1.

tory;³ and so would M. Koch—who has treated the subject with such comprehensive brevity, that I shall not apologize for transcribing his introductory remarks:—

“*Sources de l'histoire.*—Le caractère principal de l'histoire, c'est la vérité. Pour la trouver, il faut éclairer les témoignages de l'histoire du flambeau d'une saine critique. Ces témoignages sont de deux espèces : 1. *Les actes et monumens publics*, tels que les médailles, inscriptions, traités, chartres, diplomes, et généralement tous les écrits rédigés ou publiés d'autorité publique. 2. *Les écrivains privés* ; auteurs d'histoires, de chroniques, de mémoires, de lettres. Ces écrivains sont ou contemporains ou éloignés des temps dont ils écrivent l'histoire.”⁴

To pass from general history to English history. The learned Carte, in his review of the materials of English history, avoids the senseless term *secret history*;⁵ and so does Sir Harris Nicolas, even when writing on the *Privy Council*⁶—but cease we to dispute on the mere name. Compare the information afforded by D'Israeli on this *hitherto but imperfectly comprehended* subject, with the substantial and elaborate analysis of the manuscript materials of English history drawn out by Sir Alexander Luders⁷—it has not even the value of a *walking shadow*.

³ *Traité des différentes sortes de preuves qui servent à établir la vérité de l'histoire*, A Liege, 1770. In-12.

⁴ *Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe*, Paris, 1814. In-8. i. p. xv.

⁵ A Collection of the several papers published by Mr. Thomas Carte, in relation to his History of England, 1744. 8vo.

⁶ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 1834, etc. 8vo. vol. i. *Preface*.

⁷ *Rep. on Public Records*, 1800. Fol. pp. 519-63.

The perpetual sneer at historians which is observable in the essay of D'Israeli, claims a handsome repayment—but I have intimated my determination to be parsimonious of criticism on this occasion. It may be added that the short remarks introduced, are to be considered as the preliminaries of two other subjects—the *Restoration of Charles II.*, and the *Character of Queen Mary II.*—which fixed my attention while occupied on the survey of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * A considerable portion of *The Illustrator Illustrated* is inexplicable by the rules of criticism which apply to other works. If we believe it to have been assumed by Mr. D'Israeli that the *Curiosities of Literature Illustrated* was only in the hands of some obscure persons—that no biblioplist of renown would ever exercise his diffusive capabilities in favor of so anti-popular a work—and that *falsified* quotations, misrepresentations of every description, the attribution of motives which have never operated, and of feelings which do not exist, might therefore be made with comparative impunity—the difficulties of explication immediately vanish. This proposition I shall illustrate by two examples; premising that other articles furnish examples much more remarkable—and that the proposition is, to speak bibliographically, a *Key to The Illustrator Illustrated*.

1. I had stated that “Herodotus, in the exordium of his venerable writings, *incidentally* gives an excellent definition of history”—and believe the remark to be indisputable. Mr. D'Israeli seems to have felt

it so. He alters it to, "Herodotus in his exordium gives us an excellent definition of history"—and forthwith declares that Herodotus *certainly never intended it!*

2. I had produced a very neat and comprehensive paragraph, from the *Tableau* of M. Koch, on the sources of history—in which they are considered as either *public* or *private*. In defiance of this circumstance, Mr. D'Israeli declares that I "cannot understand that there may be a combination of *private* and *public* history," etc.

The proper illustration of Art xv. would have been a definition of *secret history*—in lieu of which we have IREFUL remarks on my *inability to comprehend*, etc. I had, in fact, committed an apparent error of a serious nature—in naming Herodotus, Sallust, and Livy, before D'Israeli. I can assure him, on the word of a man of honor, that it arose out of my attachment to the *art de vérifier les dates*.

ART. XVI.—Secret history of the Restoration of Charles II.—"I always give the *pour* and the *contre*!"—I. D'Israeli.

"In history the Restoration of Charles appears in all its splendour—the king is joyfully received at Dover, and the shore is covered by his subjects on their knees—crowds of the great hurry to Canterbury—the army is drawn up, etc. in a word, all that is told in history describes a monarch the most powerful and the most happy. * * * Turn to the

faithful memorialist — turn to Clarendon, in his own life; and we shall find that the power of the king was then as dubious as when he was an exile; and his feelings were so much racked, that he had nearly resolved on a last flight."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

The article which D'Israeli entitles *True sources of secret history* contains, in point of fact, a triad of subjects—his view of that *hitherto-but-imperfectly-comprehended* species of history,² his secret history of the *Restoration of Charles II.*, and his discovery of the *Character of Queen Mary II.* I have split the triad. It would have had a dazzling effect—but its component parts may be inspected without inconvenience.

I observe a *sub-triad* in the history of the Restoration, viz. on the conduct of Monk, on the position of Charles, and on the application of the *hitherto-but-imperfectly-comprehended* species of history.

1. *On the conduct of Monk.*—D'Israeli remarks that Monk "*acted very mysteriously, never corresponding with nor answering*" the King. — Monk *kept himself in a cloud*,³ but he aimed at the restoration.⁴ To Price, one of his Chaplains, who had expressed some impatience of delay, he emphatically said, "What Mr. Price will you then bring my neck to the block for the King, and ruin our whole design, by ingaging too rashly?"⁵ The words require no comment.

¹ C. L., vi. 209.

² The authors of the *Rejected Addresses* will permit a brother critic to avail himself of their charming invention of compound hyphens.

³ Price, *Mystery of H. M. Restauration*, 1680. 8vo. p. 153.

⁴ Ibid. Sig. A 4, ⁵ Ibid. p. 27.

Monk advised Charles to despatch the letters and declaration from Breda,⁶ which were the *sole visible motive* to the restoration.⁷ Correspondence would have been unsafe. He gave oral instructions to Sir John Granville, who wrote them down to fix them in his memory — and Monk himself *threw the paper into the fire*.⁸

2. *On the position of Charles.* — It is obvious that Charles, on his restoration to the throne, had numerous claims to answer, ungracious duties to perform, opposite views to reconcile, etc. “*Men were generally satisfied,*” says Sir John Reresby, but “*malecontents of several sorts there were.*”⁹ Clarendon, who wrote his *Life* in advanced years, and in banishment, dwells on the gloomy features of affairs—but I shall nevertheless examine D’Israeli by Clarendon alone.

Was the *power of the king as dubious as when he was an exile*? D’Israeli asserts, in proof, that Monk presented Charles with an obnoxious list of Privy Councillors *drawn up by his wife*. The assertion is a fiction, and the inference is suitable to it. The list was drawn up by Mr. Morrice, under the orders of Monk, who had held communications with men of all parties, and “*so had promised to do them good offices to the king*”—but was “*without any imaginations that the king would accept them*” as Privy Councillors.¹⁰ *The power of the king dubious!*—Clarendon affirms,

⁶ Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1720. 8vo. iii. 735. ⁷ Clarendon, *Life*, Oxford, 1827. 8vo. i. 320. ⁸ Price,

M. R., p. 137. ⁹ *Memoirs*, 1735. 8vo, p. 6. ¹⁰ Clarendon,

Life, i. 325.

as MOST TRUE, that "*the people were admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the subjection, duty, and obedience, that a just and prudent king could expect.*"¹¹

D'Israeli further asserts that Charles *had nearly resolved on a last flight*. — Clarendon only states that Charles, perplexed with the unhappy temper of the royal party, "*grew more disposed to leave all things to their natural course*"—and to pursue his pleasures.¹² The assertion of D'Israeli is evidently another fiction—but not his *last flight*.

3. *On the application of the hitherto-but-imperfectly-comprehended species of history*. — The only work which D'Israeli cites as *public history* is an anonymous tract, which according to his own imperfect definition is *inferior secret history*! The only work which he cites as *secret history* is the *Life of Clarendon*—which was *published* before D'Israeli was born, and may be met with in every well-chosen library in the British Islands.

So much for the *secret history of the Restoration*. It must excite astonishment that such errors and inconsistencies should be committed by an author who, in the same article, boasts of *experience in literary researches*—and sneers at *popular historians, theoretical writers of history, superficial readers, imperfect comprehension*, etc. — "THE PHILOSOPHER," says D'Israeli, "MAY WELL ABHOR ALL INTERCOURSE WITH WITS!"—and, in truth, I am almost weary of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * We have, in this instance, a pretended illus-

¹¹ Ibid. i. 314.

¹² Ibid. i. 357-8.

tration which occupies twice the space of the text; and from which we learn that the facts of the *véritable* Illustrator are only to be met by *ideas* and surmises and conjectures.

The assertion that Monk presented Charles with an *obnoxious* list of Privy Councillors *drawn up by his wife*, I had termed a *fiction*. Mr. D'Israeli, by way of defence, cites Granger as one who had the fiction before him. Now, Granger only says, "She is *supposed* to have recommended," etc.¹³ The reference is in other respects unfortunate — for he also says, "As she was a *thorough royalist*, it is probable that she had no inconsiderable share in the Restoration."¹⁴

I shall now enliven my note by an extract from the pamphlet: "The particulars which I have given," says Mr. D'Israeli, "would alone *satisfy me* that I drew from an authentic source." I have never assumed that Mr. D'Israeli was not *satisfied with himself*; but I must remark that those who undertake history, should endeavour to satisfy their readers.

It was not affirmed that Mr. D'Israeli *invented* the fiction in question, but it may have been so — for he cannot state where he *discovered* it; and this is the man who is cited by Mr. Sharon Turner, and other writers of eminence, as an *authority*!

¹³ Biographical Hist. of England, 1775. 8vo. iv. 157.

¹⁴ Ibid. iv. 157.

ART. XVII.—A historian with no conception of the dignity of history—scilicet, Clarendon!

*“ It is an odd observation of Clarendon in his own life, that ‘ Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales ; and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of THAT SIZE.’ * * * This irrelevant observation of Lord Clarendon is an instance where a great mind will sometimes draw inferences from accidental coincidences, and establish them into a general principle ; as if the small size of the men had even the remotest connexion with their genius and their virtues. Perhaps, too, there was in this a tincture of the superstitions of the times : whatever it was, the fact ought not to have degraded the truth and dignity of historical narrative. We have writers who cannot discover the particulars which characterise THE MAN,—their souls, like damp gunpowder, cannot ignite with the spark when it falls on them.” — I. D'ISRAELI.¹*

I cordially subscribe to the opinion of the late Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that his predecessor Edward Earl of Clarendon was “ *one of the most upright characters of our history—a lover of truth, and a sincere friend to the free constitution of his country* ”²—and I need no other stimulus to induce me to repel the attacks contained in the above extravagant

¹ C. L., iv. 68.

² Lord Grenville, Letters written by the late Earl of Chatham, 1804. Sm. 8vo. pp. xxiii, xviii.

piece of criticism, and to express without hesitation whatever the review of it may prompt.

It is true that an aspiring writer, the late Lord Dover, has exhibited a less favorable view of the character of Clarendon;³ but, leaving the vindication of the noble statesman to the historical intelligence, the honorable feelings, and graceful pen of Mr. Lister⁴—I shall confine myself to the text, and treat it with the utmost brevity.

Matters of fact claim the first place. — I deny, on the authority of the text itself, that Lord Clarendon *draws inferences from accidental coincidences*; I deny that he *establishes them into a general principle*; I deny that he supposes any *connexion between the small size of the men and their genius and virtues*; and I therefore deny that the *odd observation* could partake of the *superstitions of the times*. I also deny, on the authority of John Locke, that *FACTS degrade the TRUTH of historical narrative*—but I admit this to be a figure of speech which, in its peculiar line, it would be impossible to surpass.

It would not become me to express myself so positively on matters of taste. The question is, should the biographer condescend to notice the personal characteristics of those whom he commemorates? Does the observation on the stature of Chillingworth, Hales, and others, degrade the dignity of *biographical narrative*? We will consult on this point the classi-

³ Historical Inquiries respecting the character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England. By the Hon. George Agar Ellis. 1827. Sm. 8vo. pp. 182. ⁴ Gent. Mag., 1836. i. 290.

cal biographers Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch. Cornelius Nepos, so justly eulogized by the learned Harles,⁵ records that Agesilaus had the misfortune to be *lame and of small size*.⁶ Plutarch, whose writings Theodore Gaza and Ménage seem to have preferred to all the remains of antiquity,⁷ records that Alcibiades had a *lisp* in his speech⁸—that Sylla had *eyes of a lively blue, fierce and menacing*⁹—that Marc Anthony had a *graceful length of beard, a large forehead, and an aquiline nose*¹⁰—that Cecina, one of the military officers of Vitellius, was of a *gigantic size*¹¹—and that Demetrius Poliorcetes, **THOUGH TALL**, WAS NOT EQUAL IN SIZE TO HIS FATHER ANTIGONUS.¹² Now, if Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch held such remarks to be consistent with delicacy of taste, consistent with the dignity which is required in biographical composition, can it be unreasonable to claim the same latitude for modern writers?—Surely D'Israeli, to whom Bulwer ascribes a *tender vein of sentiment*, will consent to moderate his censure—to express himself with some *tenderness* on the literary delinquencies of Clarendon! The Oxford press may then once more be appropriately occupied with the *History of the Rebellion!*

Perhaps it will not be *irrelevant* to state under what circumstances the obnoxious observation was made. Clarendon wrote his *History of the Rebellion* for the

⁵ Br. Notitia Litteratvrae Romanae, Lipsiae, 1803. 8vo. p. 39.

⁶ C. Nepotis Vitae, Lipsiae, 1806. 8vo. p. 352. ⁷ Menagiana,

1729. In-12. iii. 1-3. ⁸ Plutarch's Lives, by J. and W. Lang-

horne, 1770. 8vo. ii. 101. ⁹ Ibid. iii. 213. ¹⁰ Ibid. v. 393.

¹¹ Ibid. vi. 235. ¹² Ibid. v. 334.

information of posterity:¹³ it is of course open to criticism as a work of history. He wrote his *Life* for the *information of his own family*,¹⁴ and it was NEVER TO SEE LIGHT:¹⁵ it is a piece of *private autobiography*—in which *private autobiography* the observation occurs. The noble writer gratefully avows the intellectual and moral benefits which he derived from the conversation and friendship of men of eminence.¹⁶ He enumerates the chief acquaintance which he made while a student in the Temple, comprising Selden, Ben Jonson, Sir Kenelm Digby, May, Carew, etc. and of each individual draws a CHARACTER¹⁷—in which department of composition he is pronounced by Granger, a master in the delicate art, to be UNRIVALLED AMONG THE MODERNS.¹⁸ He afterwards enumerates and carefully portrays his more intimate friends Sir Lucius Carey, Sidney Godolphin, Waller, the *ever-memorable* John Hales, etc.¹⁹ and having concluded his account of Hales with the remark that he was *one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe*—by a very natural and easy transition thus introduces the character of another of his intimate friends: “MR. CHILLINGWORTH was of a stature little superior to Mr. *Hales* (and it was an age, in which there were many great, and wonderful men of that size) and a man of so great a subtilty of understanding, and so rare a temper in debate;” etc.²⁰ Now, the structure of the

¹³ Hist. of the R., Oxford, 1702-4. Fol. i. 1. ¹⁴ Life of C., Oxford, 1759. Fol. Cont. p. 1. ¹⁵ Ibid. Oxford, 1827. 8vo. i. 185. ¹⁶ Life, 1759. p. 15. ¹⁷ Ibid. 16, etc. ¹⁸ Biog. Hist. of England, 1775. 8vo. iv. 63. ¹⁹ Life, 1759. p. 19, etc. ²⁰ Ibid. p. 28.

sentence, and the use of the parenthetical marks, sufficiently point out the incidental nature of the observation to which the learned critic so fiercely objects—but the learned critic has been pleased to *mutilate* the sentence, to *falsify* the punctuation, and to *suppress the parenthetical marks*.

It remains for me to notice the *peroration* of the criticism, which it would be unhandsome to overlook. It is evidently aimed at Lord Clarendon; but was not less evidently a *ruse de guerre littéraire*—the harbinger of certain *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First*.²¹ In the preface to that work appears a review of the principal writers on the rebellion of 1640, *excepting Clarendon!* The author no doubt believed that he had despatched the noble historian with the previous criticism—and did not contemplate the possibility of his revivification. I shall despatch the plebeian critic with a parody. ¶ *We have writers who can discover the particulars which no others can discover; their souls, like AMADOU, ignite with the spark when it falls on them—but, THE LIGHT WHICH THEY AFFORD IS NO BETTER THAN THAT OF A WILL-WITH-A-WISP.*

And now cometh mine own *peroration*.—Tra-descant, Thoresby, Sir Hans Sloane, Hunter, and other collectors of *curious* articles, admitted *monstrosities* into their MUSEUMS—and with such precedents, I shall venture to class the criticism on the Earl of Clarendon as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * It has been hinted to me by more than one

²¹ *Commentaries* etc. By I. D'Israeli, 1828-31. 8vo. 5 vols.

writer of celebrity, that I had overrated the character of Clarendon. Some explanation may be now due. I chose the favorable side of a debatable question, because the noble statesman and historian was in the hands of Mr. Lister. The result of his inquiries did not appear in time to allow me to reconsider the question; and I therefore produce the article *verbatim*.

The extreme arrogance and injustice of the criticism on Clarendon, in part furnished its own refutation; but the censure of it was not useless. The *new illustrator* is evidently ashamed of the *lively essayist*: we now read, not without a reflection on the attractive character of docility, that Clarendon is an "immortal writer, if there be immortality in the English language."

As a sort of reply to my exposure of the artful omission of Clarendon in a review of the *principal writers* on the rebellion of 1640, it is said that he is referred to "very nearly two hundred times." This is not defence: it is evasion. I frequently refer to the *lively miscellany* — but no person fancies that I consider Mr. D'Israeli as one of our *principal writers*.

ART. XVIII.—The Ashmolean Ms.—with a specimen of archaiologic proficiency.

"One of these summonses to Stowe, the antiquary, with his memoranda on the back, exists in the Ashmolean Museum. I shall preserve it with all its verbal ærugo."

‘ *Society of Antiquaries.*

‘ *To Mr. Stowe.*

‘ *The place appointed for a conference upon the question followinge ys att Mr. Garter's house, on Frydaye the 11th of this November, 1598, being Al Soule's daye, at 11 of the clocke in the afternoone, where your oppinioun in wrytinge or otherwise is expected.*

‘ *The question is,*

‘ *Of the antiquitie, etimologie, and priviledges of parishes in Englande.*

‘ *Yt ys desyred that you give not notice hereof to any, but such as haue the like somons.’*—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

It would be gratifying to ascertain that a Ms. of the venerable John Stow exists in the Ashmolean Museum—if the phrase *I shall preserve it*, did not intimate that some awful fate awaits that establishment.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department should attend to this intimation; and, in the mean time, I shall console myself with the assurance that the most eminent member of the University of Oxford is a CONSERVATIVE—and a *master of arts* well calculated to protect whatever appertains to it.

We pass on to the Ms.—Did the antiquarian zeal of D'Israeli conduct him to Oxford to transcribe these few lines? or did he avail himself of the transcript of Thomas Hearne, M.A.? We will examine what the faithful and assiduous Tom Hearne said on this subject anno 1720:—

“ *Now that what I have said as to summoning is true, up-*

¹ C. L., iv. 231.

pears from a passage in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, which because it will very much conduce to a Notitia of the Society, I shall here transcribe it at large, as I find it entered in my Collections :

‘ Society of Antiquaries.

To Mr. Stowe.

The place appointed for a Conference upon the question followinge, ps att Mr. Barters house on Frydaye the ii. of this Nouember, beinge Alsoules Day, at ii. of the clooke in thafternoone, where your oppinioun in wrtyinge or otherwyse is expected.

The question is,

Of the Antiquitie, Etimologie and privelydges of parishes in Englande.

It ps despyred, that you giue not notice hereof to any, but suche as haue the like somons. [’]”²

When we condescend to borrow, we should condescend to avow it—and take the utmost care of the article borrowed. D’Israeli slights these obvious maxims: Tom Hearne seems beneath his notice, and it fares no better with facts. According to Hearne, the summons was for the second of November: D’Israeli says the eleventh—a F. S. A. calls the eleventh of November *All Souls day*! According to Hearne, the year was not expressed. D’Israeli interpolates 1598. I take it to have been 1599.³ According to Hearne, the appointed hour of meeting was two in the afternoon: D’Israeli says eleven in the afternoon! The question as to the *hour* of meet-

² Curious Discourses, Oxford, 1720. 8vo. p. xxxix.=London, 1775. 8vo. i. xiv. ³ Notitia Historica, by N. H. Nicolas, 1824. 8vo. p. 98.+Curious Discourses, 1720. 8vo. p. cxviii.

ing is of considerable importance. Gough sharply censures James I. for dissolving the Society of Antiquaries.⁴ The statement of D'Israeli is a triumphant vindication of the conduct of that monarch: the *Fellows* held their meetings at midnight!

There is another point which requires illustration. D'Israeli omits to commemorate Mr. Garter, who so politely accommodated his antiquarian friends. Could he furnish no anecdote of this Mr. Garter? Who was this Mr. Garter? Why, Sir William Dethicke, Garter King at Arms⁵—which accounts for the meetings being held in the College of Arms.

Now, that this F.S.A. should announce as the fruit of his own recondite researches what had been in print more than a century—that he should contrive, in one short transcript, to mis-state the *hour*, the *day*, and the *year*—are circumstances which may fairly be considered as *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * It was one of the rights and privileges of the elevated station which I formerly occupied in the *République des Lettres*, that I could express my critical opinions in decisive terms without liability to the charge of arrogance. It is one of the conveniences and comforts of my present rank as an amateur, that I can express my doubts on the subjects which come under notice without incurring any serious imputation. Such an occasion now presents itself. Is *evasion* a part of *controversy*?

I had censured Mr. D'Israeli for printing a docu-

⁴ *Archaeologia*, i. xiv.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, i. v. + *Curious Discourses*, 1775. 8vo. ii. 431.

ment which he transcribed from Hearne, as from an *Ashmolean Ms.*; for erroneously interpolating the year; and for mis-stating the day and the hour. He passes over the attempt at imposition—and the erroneous interpolation; entitles his comment, **BLACK-LETTER DATES**; and ascribes his *obvious blunders* to *mis-copying the black-letter numerals!*

ART. XIX. — Character of Queen Mary II.
 —“ I always give the *pour* and the *contre!*”—
I. D'Israeli.

“ The late Queen Mary, consort and partner of the crown with King William III. was so exemplary in religion and every virtue, that our modern histories will be unjust and untrue, if they do not represent her as the purest ornament of her sex and royal dignity.”—Bishop KENNET.¹

Examine the catalogue of crowned ladies from Semiramis to Adelaide — examine the narratives of the most credible historians and biographers — review all that the spirit of eulogy has devised — it will add to the conviction that Mary, the consort of William III. of England, was one of the most amiable women who ever adorned a throne.

Now, it hath pleased D'Israeli to make choice of her Majesty as the object of one of his curious experiments in the *philosophy of history*; and also to exer-

¹ Register etc. 1728. Fol. *Ded.*

cise his skill as a literary *manipulator* on her right reverend biographer Burnet.

Two extracts (not a pair) will serve to convey some notion of the first step in the experimental process on Mary:—

“*Burnet informs us, that when Queen Mary held the administration of government during the absence of William, it was imagined by some, that as ‘every woman of sense loved to be meddling, they concluded that she had but a small portion of it, because she lived so abstracted from all affairs.’*”—I. D’ISRAELI.²

“The Queen was *now* in the administration. It was a *new scene* to her; she had, for above *sixteen months*, made so little figure in business, that those, who imagined, that every woman of sense loved to be meddling, concluded that she had a small proportion of it, because she lived so abstracted from all affairs.”—Bp. BURNET.³

D’Israeli undertakes to “*expose the fallacious appearances of popular history.*” His first step is an act of deception. Burnet applies his remark to the sixteen months which preceded the absence of William—who bore the cares of government. D’Israeli applies it to the time of his absence—at which time Mary was, as Sir John Dalrymple justly observes, *in one of the most singular situations known in history!*⁴

“*The distracted state amidst which the queen lived, the vexations, the secret sorrows, the agonies and the despair of Mary in the absence of William, nowhere appears in history! * * * They were reserved for the curiosity and in-*

² C. L., vi. 212. ³ Hist. of his own Time, 1724-34. Fol. ii. 48. ⁴ Memoirs of Great Britain, 1790. 8vo. iii. 68.

struction of posterity; and were found by Dalrymple, in the letters of Mary"—I. D'ISRAELI.

This extract describes the second step in the experimental process on Mary. We must revert to her *singular situation*. William was in Ireland, prepared to contend in arms with her own father.⁵ A conspiracy was formed at home;⁶ a triumphant armament paraded our coasts;⁷ the cabinet council was composed of discordant materials.⁸ Her situation was evidently one of peculiar difficulty—but her chief care was for the safety and approbation of William. She wrote to him almost daily; and about thirty of her letters were published by Sir John Dalrymple, from the private cabinet of William at Kensington, in 1773. They are extremely rich in subjects for meditation. With the glow and flexibility of sentiment which pertain to the female character, she stamps the impression of the moment—and has left vivid proofs of her affection, of her vexations, and of her anxieties. Her *despair* is the invention of D'Israeli. Not a shadow of it appears in her letters! She extremely laments his absence, but assures him that his love enables her to "*bear all things else with ease*"⁹—to "*bear all with patience*."¹⁰ She expresses her *joy* on every proper occasion;¹¹ and repeatedly declares, with peculiar emphasis, her *trust in Providence*.¹²

⁵ Burnet, H. O. T., ii. 46, etc. + Dalrymple, M. G. B., iii. 8.

⁶ Burnet, ii. 35, etc. + Dalrymple, iii. 4, 11, 54, etc. ⁷ Burnet, ii. 49. + Dalrymple, iii. 15, etc. ⁸ Burnet, ii. 49. + Dalrymple, iii. 9, 21, etc. ⁹ M. G. B., iii. 73. ¹⁰ Ibid. iii. 126.

¹¹ Ibid. iii. 69, 92, 113, 119, 120, etc. ¹² Ibid. iii. 68, 74, 76, 83, 84, 88, 89, 92, 113, 117.

Thus, by asserting the apparent *tranquillity* and *carelessness* of Mary on the pretended authority of Burnet—and by converting her trust in Providence, as recorded in her own letters, into despair—has D'Israeli attempted to *expose the fallacious appearances of popular history*; and this is what he calls *lifting the curtain*, to exhibit the picture of Queen Mary!

D'Israeli twits Burnet as the *Scotch bishop*, as *our warm and vehement bishop*, as deficient in *sagacity*, etc. Perhaps Burnet did not possess the *ingenuity* which our critic has evinced on this occasion. Burnet, describing the behaviour of Mary previous to the absence of William, remarks that she “seemed to employ her time and thoughts, in any thing, rather than matters of state;”¹³ etc. D'Israeli applies this remark to the anxious period of her administration. Nor is this the only proof of his *ingenuity*. Burnet says, she *seemed* to employ, etc. D'Israeli, when he draws his contrast between the *actual state* of Mary and the *representation* of Burnet, omits the word *seemed*. Now, I apprehend that Burnet attached a meaning to the word *seemed*;¹⁴ but, if my critical discernment should fail me on that point, I am quite confident that D'Israeli is aware of its meaning—for he omits the very word which, independently of the anachronism, would have demolished his discovery! Such are the contrivances by which D'Israeli essays to prove that the *actual state* of Mary *escaped the ken*

¹³ H. O. T., ii. 48. ¹⁴ Vide An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen, 1695. 8vo. p. 159.

of the Scotch bishop ! and that he mistook a mask for a face.

I conclude with the facts. Burnet, who saw Mary *once a week* at the critical period of her administration, records that she showed *extraordinary firmness*¹⁵—that she covered her *inward apprehensions* with an *equality of behaviour*¹⁶—that “*though she was full of dismal thoughts, yet she put on her ordinary cheerfulness, when she appeared in publick,*” etc.¹⁷

This article may be considered as an illustration of the manner in which D’Israeli *strikes out new results*; and in which he exemplifies his own declaration, “*I always give the pour and the contre.*” I have consulted on the occasion no authorities but those which are alluded to by D’Israeli himself. I have met him with the weapon of which he has made choice; and if I have held it rather lightly, it was because no exertion seemed requisite.

He sarcastically remarks of two celebrated historians—Gilbert Stuart and Robertson—that they *depend on the simplicity of their readers.*—That he should at the same time offer himself as the victim of his own sarcasm, is certainly one of the *Curiosities of Literature.*

* * The remarks which I have made in the note to Art. xv. on certain points which appear to have been assumed by Mr. D’Israeli, apply with peculiar force to the subject now under consideration.

I had taxed him with an *act of deception*, with

¹⁵ H. O. T., ii. 55.
ii. 55.

¹⁶ Essay, p. 158.

¹⁷ H. O. T.,

literary manipulation, with invention, with contrivances, etc. Accusations of this serious nature, if made against myself, I would refute — or would resign the pen for ever. Mr. D'Israeli views his position in a more cheerful light. In lieu of attempting an answer, he gives us various discursive remarks on the use of *secret history*, on the *philosophy of history*, on the *retired habits of the Queen*, on the *busy Bishop*, on *hebdomal visits*, on the *cabinet of William the Third at Kensington*, on the *best edition of Burnet by Dr. Routh*, on the *Lords Dartmouth, Hardwicke, etc.*

If the craft of authorship should fail—I should commend Mr. D'Israeli to turn lecturer on the art of EVASION; and I promise to certify his qualifications.

ART. XX.—Lady Grace Gethin *versus* I.
D'Israeli, Esq., D. C. L. and F. S. A.

“ No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape ; back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes :—”

SHAKESPEARE.

I am about to comment on a commentator, in vindication of aspersed excellence ; but shall endeavour to express myself with all the reserve which is due to—arrogance and flippancy.

The work on which D'Israeli exercises his pen as a commentator is entitled, *RELIQUIÆ GETHINIANÆ, or, some remains of the most ingenious and excellent lady, the Lady Grace Gethin, lately deceased. 1699.*

4to. He censures the editor of the volume; the biographers of Lady Gethin; and, above all, Lady Gethin herself.¹ The critic shall now submit to criticism.

He taxes the editor of the volume with *cant and mendacity*, because he believed the *matured reflection* with which it abounds to be the *hasty conceptions* of Lady Gethin. — If this be equitable, I shall unavoidably tax with *cant and mendacity* a writer of more lofty pretensions.

He censures Ballard, one of the biographers of Lady Gethin, for having, with all the *innocence of criticism*, given specimens of the *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ* without suspecting that he was transcribing the words of Lord Bacon.—Ballard occupied the humble station of a provincial *mantuamaker*; but literature was his delight, and he devoted to his studies the hours which were due to sleep. “After quitting,” says Rowe Mores, “*the external ornaments of the sex*,” he became “*a contemplator of their internal qualifications*.” The result of his contemplations was *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain, who have been celebrated for their writings or skill in the learned languages arts and sciences*. Oxford, 1752. 4to. comprising more than sixty articles. He died prematurely in 1755.² To twit such a man for an oversight is the poorest of triumphs. We are all fallible. Even the critic himself, who scarcely bestows six lines on Ballard, cites an edition of his work which never existed!

¹ C. L., iv. 22-7. ² E. R. Mores, Dissertation upon Eng. Typ. Founders, 1778. 8vo. p. 36. + J. Walker, Letters by eminent Persons, 1813. 8vo. ii. 92, etc. + Memoirs, etc. 1752. 4to.

He censures the Rev. Mark Noble, another of the biographers of Lady Gethin, on the same score. — There is a touch of the *innocence of criticism* in this censure, for Bacon was chiefly indebted to Lucretius and Montaigne for the passage which Noble selects as a specimen of the composition of her Ladyship.³

I shall now introduce Lady Gethin. — She was the daughter of Sir George Norton of Abbots-Leigh in Somersetshire; married Sir Richard Gethin of Gethin-Grott in Ireland; and died, in her twenty-first year, on the 11th of October 1697. Her remains are deposited at Hollingbourne in Kent; but there is a cenotaph to her memory in Westminster Abbey, and to perpetuate it a sermon is preached there annually on Ash Wednesday. In 1700 the sermon was preached by Dr. Peter Birch, one of the prebendaries of Westminster; and in 1836 by the Bishop of Hereford. The contemporaries of Lady Gethin celebrate her *eminent virtues* — her *exemplary piety* — her *sober unaffected piety*. They describe her as an *excellent person* — as a *most excellent person* — as *adorned with all graces and perfections of mind and body*.⁴ Even D'Israeli admits that her mind was PURE AND ELEVATED; but the *same* D'Israeli, as if determined to give an example of effrontery and inconsistency which should set competition at defiance, declares that she “HAD NO CONCEPTION OF THE DIGNITY OF THE

³ Rev. M. N., Biog. Hist. of England, 1806. 8vo. i. 281. + Bacon, *Essays*, 1625. 4to. pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ*, 1699. 4to. + Dr. Birch, *Funeral Sermon*, 1700. 4to. + J. Dart, *Westmonasterium*, Fol. ii. 78.

FEMALE CHARACTER, THE CLAIMS OF VIRTUE, AND THE DUTIES OF HONOUR."

I shall briefly describe the *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ*. The volume is in small 4to. It consists of four preliminary leaves and ninety pages of text. The true date is 1699; but a new title was printed in 1700, two poems and a sermon being added; and also in 1703, when another poem was added. The Georgian copy, which is of the latter description, has a fine mezzotinto portrait of Lady Gethin by W. Faithorne after A. Dickson, and a view of the monument in Westminster Abbey. The editor of the volume gravely asserts that its contents were written by Lady Gethin by *way of essay*, and at *spare hours*. He has digested them under twenty-nine heads. Now eight of these heads, viz. *Of youth and age—Of custom—Of riches—etc.* are entirely transcribed from the *Essays* of Lord Bacon; six others, viz. *Of honour and high places—Of charity—etc.* are chiefly transcribed from the same exquisite manual; and numerous transcripts from Bacon occur under other heads. With such evidence, I conclude that *Lady Gethin did not compose one sentence in these Remains*. The volume, moreover, is a woful specimen of editorship. The errata are most absurd. Ex. gr. "men in great places seek *poverty* and lose liberty;" p. 83. [seek *power* etc.]—"young men are . . . fitter for new *frolichs* than solid business:" p. 75. [new *projects* etc.]—"the principal part of beauty is *defect* and gracious motions." p. 78. [is *decent* etc.]—I do not lose sight of D'Israeli. He remarks that the *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ* excited his *curiosity* and his *suspicion*. He afterwards

boldly announces his "*discovery of the nature of this rare volume, of what is original and what collected*;"⁵ but omits to state by what perseverance of research, or felicitous efforts of reminiscence, he made the *discovery*. Perhaps I can illustrate this point. He mentions that Sir William Musgrave, in a Ms. note, described the volume as *very scarce*. — Now, Sir William was not so penurious of information; witness his entire note: "*The following Work is very scarce & has been celebrated by Mr. Congreve in an excellent poem.* — IT IS A COMPILATION."⁶

There are facts which require no comment—and I consider those contained in the two preceding paragraphs to be of that description; but shall nevertheless give, in due form, specimens of comments on the commentator.

"*There is a poem prefixed [to the Reliquiæ Gethini-anæ] with the signature W. C. which no one will hesitate to pronounce is by Congreve;*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

I cannot assent to this decision. It is improbable that Congreve should write two poems on the same volume; it is improbable that he should affix his name to one of the poems and not to the other; it is improbable that he should contribute one to the *Annual Miscellany* and not the other; it is improbable that he should admit one into the collective editions of his works and not the other. Nor is this all the evidence. The poem signed W. C. was printed as an addition to the second *issue* (to use a convenient bibliographical neologism) of the *Reliquiæ Ge-*

⁵ C. L., v. 338.

⁶ R. G., 2nd edit., B. M.

thinianæ. The poem signed W. Congreve was printed as an addition to the third issue of the volume; and *that* issue was recommended to notice by the statement that it contained "*a copy of verses*" by Mr. Congreve—a plain intimation that the other copy of verses was not by Mr. Congreve. — On a review of these circumstances, I pronounce the above decision to have been made with all the *innocence of criticism*.

"It is one of the best bonds of charity [chastity] and obedience in the wife if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous." — Reliquiæ Gethinianæ.

"*A wife was only to know obedience and silence : however, she [Lady Gethin] hints that such a husband should not be jealous ! There was a sweetness in revenge reserved for some of these married women.*" — I. D'ISRAELI.

This comment would call on me to exercise with the utmost rigour certain powers with which I am invested ; but, disposed to temper justice with mercy, and to make due allowance for the force of that temptation to write with *smartness* which often so cruelly assails this commentator, (a temptation perhaps increased in the present instance by the inability of the lady to *reply with smartness*) I have merely issued a notice requiring the comment to be cancelled ; and have ordered one of the scouts who are attached to my office for the purpose of collecting new publications, carrying *copy* to the press, etc. to serve it on D'Israeli with the utmost possible despatch. As a caution to over-lively writers, I transcribe the entire document :—

" I hereby require and command you I. D'Israeli, Esq., D. C. L. and F. S. A. of Bradenham House in the county of Bucks immediately after the receipt of this notice or as soon after the receipt thereof as possibly may be to enter your library at Bradenham House as aforesaid and taking in hand the choicest copy of the ninth edition of the work entitled *Curiosities of Literature* written or compiled by you the said I. D'Israeli, Esq., D. C. L. and F. S. A. to turn to the twenty-seventh page of the fourth volume thereof and to read with your utmost attention the passage commencing with the words *A wife* and ending with the words *married women* being a comment or pretended comment on certain words attributed to Lady Grace Gethin late of the parish of Saint Martin in the Fields in the county of Middlesex deceased AND HAVING SO DONE to take up the pen wherewith the said passage was written or in default thereof any other pen and forthwith to efface cancel and obliterate the same so that no mark sign or trace thereof shall remain the words to which the said passage is applied as a comment or pretended comment having been written by one Francis Bacon before the said Lady Grace Gethin was born. ~~Heretof~~ fail not."

" Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses."—Reliquiæ Gethinianæ.

" *The last degrading sentence is found in some writer, whose name I cannot recollect.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

On the philosophy of the degrading sentence I am not *qualified* to speak; but, with the imperfect light which I possess, it seems to depict the constitution of nature. I pass to the comment.—To discover the writer of a sentence whose name has escaped the re-

searches of D'Israeli, and his learned friends, was a most formidable task. I determined, therefore, to have recourse to an oracle which I have consulted with success on various occasions for near half a century. The response was made with promptitude—and was exempt from the perplexing ambiguity of those of Delphi and Dodona. I give it verbatim: “The *obscure* writer of the *degrading sentence* is FRANCIS BACON, BARON VERULAM, VISCOUNT SAINT ALBANS, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, etc. etc. etc.”

So much for the *classical and most charming essay* of D'Israeli on Lady Gethin; on her biographers; and on the *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ*. It would be faint praise to characterise it as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*: it is a constellation of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * It has been announced that Mr. D'Israeli was “getting *somewhat sage*” in 1817.⁷ If he had made much progress in the happy art, he would not have attempted to justify his essay on Lady Gethin.

The sum of his attempt is, that the Honorary Professor looked at Lady Gethin “through the spectacles of his books”—the only spectacles through which she was visible; and that Mr. D'Israeli “looked into human nature” through his own phantasmatical optics—drew a *portrait de charge*—and, by some incomprehensible mistake, wrote under it *Lady Gethin*.

We observe, in a note, “a specimen of the *new art of criticism* by this Honorary Professor.”—I believe

⁷ I. I., p. 5.

Mr. D'Israeli to be the main author of the pamphlet under examination; but on this particular occasion he must have obtained assistance—and as I conceive—the assistance of Puck himself! I had said, “We are all fallible. Even the critic himself, who scarcely bestows six lines on Ballard, cites an edition of his work which never existed!” On this Mr. D'Israeli, who is proud of his powers of *comprehension*, exclaims, “I am censured for scarcely bestowing six lines on Ballard. I was writing on Lady Gethin!” He then exclaims, “Petty critics may trouble an author who lies at their mercy; he compels me to rise from my chair, and I find I am wrong!” The public will now be sensible of the extraordinary efficacy of my professional labours. It appeareth that, under the influence thereof, Mr. D'Israeli actually *rose from his chair to ascertain a fact!*

ART. XXI.—The path of the *Woolsthorpe apple*—calculated on data not known to Sir Isaac Newton!

“We owe the great discovery of Newton to a very trivial accident. When a student at Cambridge, he had retired during the time of the plague into the country. As he was reading under an apple-tree, one of the fruit fell, and struck him a smart blow on the head. When he observed the smallness of the apple, he was surprised at the force of the stroke. This led him to consider the accelerating motion of falling bodies; from whence he deduced the principle of gravity, and laid the foundation of his philosophy.”—
I. D'ISRAELI.¹

¹ C. L., i. 123.

An anecdote derives its value from the eminence of the individual with whose name it is associated; the importance of the event which it tends to illustrate; the philosophic and moral lessons which it affords. The anecdote of Newton and the *falling apple* unites these species of interest; and is, like Newton himself, without a rival!

But I am not about to write a *Dissertation on Anecdotes*—for D'Israeli has treated the subject with a *vivacity* to which I do not aspire.² He declares, amid other sallies, that anecdotes are *susceptible of a thousand novel turns*; ³ and if he has since modified the declaration,⁴ he still attempts to exemplify it. Now, according to my home-spun notions, according to my non-imaginative apprehension, an anecdote admits of no *novel turns*—but should be recited with a strict *adherence to truth*.

An examination of the sources of the above anecdote will be the best illustration of these notions. Soon after the death of Newton, which took place on the 20th of March 1727, Mr. Conduitt, his nephew, drew up some memoirs of his life for the information of M. de Fontenelle. He thus narrates the incident of the *falling apple* :—

“ In the year 1665, when he [Newton] retired to his own estate, [at Woolsthorpe] on account of the plague, he first thought of his system of gravity, which he hit upon by *observing an apple fall from a tree*.”⁵

M. de Fontenelle omitted this anecdote in his *éloge*

² A Dissertation on Anecdotes, 1793. 8vo.

³ Ibid. p. 74.

⁴ C. L., iv. 65.

⁵ Vide Hist. of Grantham, 1806. 4to. p. 160.

of Newton;⁶ but Voltaire afterwards mentioned it on the authority of the charming Mrs. Conduitt.⁷ Pemberton, who possessed the confidence of Newton, and published an exposition of the Newtonian philosophy in 1728, merely states that "As he [Newton] sat alone in a garden, he fell into a speculation on the power of gravity;"⁸ and this statement was repeated by Birch, ten years afterwards, in his very valuable account of Newton.⁹ In 1760, or perhaps earlier, Dr. Nicolls, a learned mathematician, published an elaborate life of Newton.¹⁰ He had the advantage of access to some papers of Newton in the possession of the Earl of Macclesfield, and gives the anecdote of the *falling apple* in conformity with the narrative of Mr. Conduitt.¹¹ In 1812 Dr. Thomson, the eminent chemist, published a judicious biographical sketch of Newton;¹² and mentions the anecdote of the *falling apple*, chiefly in the words of Mr. Conduitt. In 1822 M. Biot, a man of science of the first rank, whose inclination to do justice to the memory of Newton is not inferior to his capability, published an admirable account of his life;¹³ and thus faithfully records the anecdote of the *falling apple*: "Assis un jour sous un pommier, que l'on montre encore, *une pomme tomba devant lui* [Newton];" etc.¹⁴ In 1831 Dr. Brew-

⁶ *Eloge de Monsieur le Chevalier Neuton*, Paris, 1728. In-4.

⁷ *Œuvres complètes*, [Kehl] 1785-9. In-8. xxxi. 175. ⁸ A view of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, 1728. 4to. *Preface*, Sig. [a]. ⁹ *General Dictionary*, vii. 783. ¹⁰ *Biog. Brit.*, v. 1760. pp. 3210-44.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 3210, 3244. ¹² *Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1812. 4to. p. 277, etc. ¹³ *Biog. Univ.*, xxxi. pp. 127-94. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* xxxi. p. 134.

ster, whose fame is coextensive with science itself, published a very interesting narrative of the life of Newton.¹⁵ There is reason, however, to conclude that the learned writer could not bestow his undivided attention on this lofty theme.¹⁶ He omits to describe in what manner the *first idea of gravity occurred to Newton*; ¹⁷ and afterwards states that the anecdote of the falling apple is *not mentioned* by Mr. Conduitt—that he could not *find any authority for it whatever*! ¹⁸ Sir David will permit me to remark that he did not prosecute his *optical researches* with his accustomed perseverance. He will permit me to remark that he might have introduced the anecdote of the *falling apple*, without becoming subject to the charge of viewing history through the *kaleidoscope* of fancy.

Having examined the narratives of the principal biographers of Newton, with a view to the particulars in question, I shall revert to the statement of D'Israeli; and endeavour to appreciate correctly his anecdotal and philosophic genius.

He states that Newton was *reading* when the *falling apple* excited his attention: Conduitt and Pemberton lead us to conclude that he was occupied in *meditation*. He states that Newton was *surprised at the force of the stroke* of the *falling apple*: Galileo discovered the accelerating power of gravity¹⁹—which would account for the *force of the stroke*—and Galileo

¹⁵ The Life of Sir Isaac Newton, 1831. Sm. 8vo. pp. xvi. 366.

¹⁶ Vide Biot, Journal des Savans, 1832. pp. 193-203, etc.

¹⁷ Life of Newton, pp. 147-8. ¹⁸ Ibid. p. 344. ¹⁹ Systema Cosmicum, Londini, 1663. 8vo. p. 309.

died before Newton was born.²⁰ He states that from the incident of the *falling apple* Newton drew **THE principle of gravity**: Conduitt, who understood the subject on which he was writing, makes use of the phrase **HIS system of gravity**—for the discovery of Newton was not the discovery of *terrestrial gravity*, but the discovery of the *universality of gravity*.²¹ Another proof of philosophic proficiency remains to be stated. Conduitt, Voltaire, Biot, etc. speak vaguely of the *falling apple*: D'Israeli calculates its exact path — and discovers that *appulse* of which **Newton** himself was **UTTERLY IGNORANT**! This discovery in physics also involves a curious discovery in psychology; for it proves, in opposition to the received opinion, that *a smart blow on the head* **PROMOTES MEDITATION**!

How careful should authors be in the examination of facts, and in the enunciation of opinions! How cautious should readers be in the choice of books! Dr. Dibdin assures us that he chose the *Curiosities of Literature* as the companion of his *evening hours and lone musings beyond midnight* at the period of his college life.²² Dr. Dibdin, after an interval of forty years, repeats in substance the anecdote of the *falling apple* as most erroneously reported by D'Israeli²³—and exclaims in the fever-heat of *camaraderie littéraire*, “**NEVER WAS TRUTH ATTIRED IN MORE ATTRACTIVE GARMENTS THAN IN THESE VOLUMES.**”²⁴

I have now to make a confession very humiliat-

²⁰ Biot, Biog. Univ., xvi. 329. + Conduitt, Hist. of Grantham, p. 158.

²¹ Pemberton, View, etc. pp. 16-7.

²² Reminis-

cences, 1836. 8vo. p. 87.

²³ Ibid. p. 189.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 88.

ing to a Professor of Criticism. I had conceived the extract of which I have attempted an illustration to be the composition of D'Israeli; the air of smartness which it exhibits seemed so characteristic—the whole internal evidence so conclusive. I should even have believed it to be his composition if I had found it interwoven with a censure on the BRITISH SOLOMON; or with a panegyric on *the antiquary Gough*, who with his *usual discernment*²⁵ recorded his sentiments on *anecdotes*—on *curiosities of literature*—on *Mss. authorities*—on the *philosophy of history*—and on the *brilliant sallies and flippancy style of an historical petitemaitre*.²⁶ But, alas! how full of hazard is the path of criticism. On casually examining one of the earlier editions of the *lively miscellany*, I discovered the extract included between certain significant marks ycleped *inverted commas*, which denote it to be a *borrowed article*!—I shall, therefore, on this occasion, quietly back out; and leave the reader to consider the discovery as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * It is now admitted that the anecdote of Newton and the falling apple was one of the *adopted* children of Mr. D'Israeli; and I have ascertained that it is one which he has not improved by education.

The question is, Did Newton hit on his system of gravity by "*observing an apple fall from a tree?*" as stated by Conduitt; or did the apple strike him "*a smart blow on the head?*" and so promote meditation!

²⁵ C. L., vi. 389. ²⁶ Gent. Mag., lxiii. 1120-1. + J. Nichols, Cat. R. Gough, 1810. p. vii.

Mr. D'Israeli printed the latter statement. He defends himself by asserting that he had *no more open source of intelligence* in 1790, and by reminding us that the narrative of Conduitt was not published till 1806. He also charges me with transcribing titles *in a hap-hazard*; and with *recklessly* referring to Dr. Nicolls for a statement in conformity with that of Conduitt. I am not apt to be *reckless* when truth is at stake; nor did I deviate from my habits of accuracy on this occasion. Thus wrote Dr. Nicolls in his account of Newton, A.D. 1760: "His System of the World took its beginning from *seeing some apples fall from a tree* in an orchard."

I must add, in evidence of the *reckless* audacity with which Mr. D'Israeli sets truth at defiance, that I had referred to the very page in which this statement of Dr. Nicolls occurs.

ART. XXII.—William Collins—with a *true and particular* account of the *public* ignition of his *Odes*.

"*Collins burnt his odes before the door of his publisher.*"
—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

More is meant than meets the ear in this short sentence; but I shall call in the assistance of one who is perfectly qualified to interpret it. "What," says D'Israeli, "must have been the AGONIES of the

¹ C. L., ii. 183.

neglected Collins when he *burnt his exquisite odes at the door of his publisher!*"²

The reader has now before him the sentence—and the *quo animo* of the sentence—and is therefore prepared to attend to further illustrations.

The earliest account of Collins was published in 1763;³ apparently written by Fawkes, the translator of Anacreon. A supplemental *character* of the poet was contributed by Mr. Samuel Johnson.⁴ Not a word is said on the *ignition of the Odes*.

In 1765 the Rev. John Langhorne prefixed some memoirs of Collins to the first separate edition of his *Poetical Works*.⁵ He states that Mr. Millar, the celebrated bookseller (whom he is pleased to describe as a *favourer of genius when once it had made its way to fame*) published the *Odes on the account of the author*; and thus proceeds:—

“He [Millar] happened, indeed, to be in the right not to publish them on his own [account]; for the sale was by no means successful; and hence it was that the author, conceiving a just indignation against a blind and tasteless age, *burnt the remaining copies with his own hands*.”⁶

In the same year this statement of Langhorne was animadverted on in the *Monthly Review*.⁷ The writer vindicates the character of Millar; declares that he *purchased* the copy-right of the odes at a *very*

² Essay on the Literary Character, 1795. 8vo. p. 108. ³ Poetical Calendar, 1763. Sm. 8vo. xii. 107, etc. ⁴ Boswell, Life of Johnson, 1811. 8vo. i. 366. ⁵ The Poetical Works of Mr. William Collins, 1765. Sm. 8vo. ⁶ Ibid. p. xi. ⁷ M. R., xxxiii. 294.

handsome price ; and thus chronicles the destruction of the surplus copies :—

“ When he [Collins] came to the possession of an *easy fortune*, by the death of his uncle, Colonel Martin, — he recollected that the publisher of his poems was a *loser* by them. His *sprit* was too great to submit to this circumstance, when he found himself enabled to do justice to his own *delicacy* ; and therefore he desired his bookseller to balance the account of that unfortunate publication, declaring *he himself would make good the deficiency* ; the bookseller readily acquiesced in the proposal, and gave up to Mr. Collins the remainder of the impression, which the generous, resentful bard, *immediately consigned to the flames*.”

This evidence is of course nameless — but its credibility is undeniable. It is cited as authoritative by Kippis,⁸ who was a writer in the same *Review* ;⁹ and Langhorne himself seems to have admitted the truth of it by the *suppression* of his opposite statement as to the copy-right of the odes, and also of his insinuations against Millar.¹⁰

Chance now enables me to name the author of the article.¹¹ It was written by Griffiths, the editor of the *Review*, who was intimate with Dr. Rose, one of the literary advisers of Millar¹² — so that the statement, which only amounts to *immediate consignment to the flames*, may safely be considered as a portion of the AUTHENTIC *history of our vernacular literature*.

It is time to revert to the text of D'Israeli. He loves to dwell on the *calamities of authors* — and

⁸ Biog. Brit., 2nd ed. iv. 29.

⁹ Rees, Sermon on Kippis, 1795. 8vo. p. 44.

¹⁰ Poetical Works of Mr. W. Collins, 1776. Sm. 8vo. p. xi.

¹¹ Vide B. H., Part viii. No. 1666.

¹² J. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, iii. 506, 386.

fancies that he has established some *new results in the history of human nature*.¹³ Has he never read that *MAN is born unto trouble*? Has it never occurred to him that while the calamities of those who write become recorded in their own vivid language—the calamities of those who do not write pass into oblivion? To affirm as much would be almost justifiable. He is welcome, however, to his darling crotchet; but I cannot permit him to support it *à tort et à travers*. I cannot permit him to starve Camoens; to imprison Purchas; and to describe as the *AGONIES* of Collins what was the effervescence of his *generous spirit* and *delicacy of feeling*!

Hitherto we have met with no proof of the *public* ignition of the *Odes* — the point in dispute; and we will now continue our researches. In 1804 the Rev. Alexander Hay published a circumstantial account of Collins,¹⁴ which was printed in the house in which the poet was born. In 1813 Sir Egerton Brydges embodied some curious papers on Collins,¹⁵ the object of his visionary admiration. In 1827 the Rev. Alexander Dyce edited the *Poetical Works* of Collins, with a considerable accumulation of illustrative materials.¹⁶ We explore these sources in vain for a confirmation of the *public* ignition of the *Odes*.

¹³ C. L., *Preface*. ¹⁴ Hist. of Chichester, Chichester, 1804. 8vo. p. 526. Fawkes? Johnson, Langhorne, Kippis, Chalmers, Suard, Campbell, etc. state that Collins died in 1756! Mr. Hay states *correctly*, 12th June 1759. ¹⁵ Sylvan Wanderer, Lee Priory, 1813-7. 8vo. i. 71-80. ¹⁶ The Poetical Works of William Collins; with the life of the author, etc. London, W. Pickering, 1827. 8vo.

Are we to consider that D'Israeli has *unintentionally improved* on the information of his precursors? or that he has sported an *invention* in favor of his hypothesis on the *calamities of authors*? I need not decide on the delicate question — for the statement, in either case, must undoubtedly pass as one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * The tone in which the remarks on the above article is composed, proves that our ordinary catalogues of the *calamities of authors* are incomplete. To be detected in the perversion of truth, is undoubtedly one of the chief calamities of authors; not, indeed, a calamity which always overwhelms — for it sometimes *infuriates*.

When a detection of this nature has been made, it becomes an act of duty to expose it; but we are not bound to notice the vituperation of the culprit — nor even to disclaim the feelings which he may insidiously impute. Such imputations are the common resource of those who are without the means of defence; and the man who avails himself of them may be safely left to *strut and fret his hour*—till reason and a sense of decorum shall return.

ART. XXIII. — Facts relative to William Oldys, Esq., Norroy King at Arms—with specimens of his *uncourtly style*.

“ Mr. Oldys, a man of eager curiosity and indefatigable diligence, . . . first exerted that spirit of inquiry into the literature of

the old English writers, by which the works of our great dramatic poet have of late been so signally illustrated."—JAMES BOSWELL.¹

An accurate summary of the life of Oldys would be a valuable accession to our national literature; and I recommend the subject to the biographer of Vincent and Ritson, as a suitable relaxation from his more recondite studies.

D'Israeli entitles his last article, *Life and habits of a literary antiquary — Oldys and his manuscripts*.² He offers it as the produce of *unexpected materials*, and evidently prides himself on his handiwork. Bulwer also lauds the operative; asserting that he has *profoundly analyzed* Oldys, and has made him *peculiarly his own*. I shall presume to inquire into this profundity of analysis; shall offer some account of the Mss. of Oldys; illustrations of his *uncourtly style*; and of the expertness with which D'Israeli has leaped over what most redounds to the honor of our *literary antiquary*.

It may be convenient to premise that Oldys was born on the 14th of July 1696; became Librarian to the celebrated Earl of Oxford; Norfolk Herald extraordinary, and, by patent of the 4th of May 1755, Norroy King at Arms; published a considerable number of works in biography and bibliography; and died on the 15th of April 1761.³

A very limited number of specimens will be suffi-

¹ Life of Johnson, 1791. 4to. i. 94.

² C. L., vi. 363-92.

³ Addit. Ms. 4240. p. 14. + Ducarel, Ms. Memoir of Oldys. + Documents in the College of Arms.

cient to prove the inutility of further inquiry into the merits which we have seen ascribed to D'Israeli.

§ 1. Illustrated specimens of analytical profundity.

1. "*He [Oldys] mentions that he was in Yorkshire from 1724 to 1730. * * * It has sometimes occurred to me, that for Yorkshire we must understand the Fleet. There we know he was ;*" etc.—I. D'ISRAELI.⁴

D'Israeli is very sharp-sighted on the *calamities of authors* ; but this is not one of his happiest conjectures. What says Oldys himself? "*Being at Leeds in Yorkshire, soon after Mr. Ralph Thoresby the antiquary died, anno 1725, I saw his Musæum ;*" etc.⁵

2. "*He [Oldys] mentions that he was in Yorkshire from 1724 to 1730. This period is a remarkable blank in Oldys's life.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.⁶

Oldys did not pass the time unprofitably. In 1727 he purchased his *second* Langbaine, which he continued to annotate for thirty years.⁷ In 1728 appeared the *Universal Spectator*, in which he wrote *many things*.⁸ In 1729 he wrote an *Essay on Epistolary Writings : w:th respect to the Grand Collection of Tho'. Earl of Strafford. Inscribd to the Lord Malton*. 8vo. Ms.⁹—and in 1730 *Some Considerations upon the Publication of S^r. Thomas Roe's Epistolary Collections*. Fol. Ms.¹⁰ The Ms. *Essay on Epistolary Writings* was probably of some utility to Lord Malton—for Dr. Knowler, who edited the Strafford papers in

⁴ C. L., vi. 375. ⁵ Life of Sir W. Raleigh. [1735.] Fol. p. xxxi.

⁶ C. L., vi. 375.

⁷ Langbaine, B. M. *passim*.

⁸ Ducarel, Ms. Memoir of Oldys.

⁹ Addit. Ms. 4168.

¹⁰ Ibid.

1789, declares that he followed the directions and instructions of his Lordship.¹¹ The *Considerations* on the collection of Sir Thomas Roe abound in substantial information, and evince the spirit of method. Oldys expatiates on the importance of state papers; reviews the collections entitled the *Compleat Ambassador*, the *Cabala*, the *Life of Sir Leolin Jenkins*, and the *Memorials of Sir Ralph Winwood*; and delivers it as his opinion that none of them can “stand in competition with that spacious rendezvous of epistolary conference w^{ch} centred in Sir Thomas Roe.” Every particular connected with the publication of the papers in question, he perspicuously and judiciously discusses. I need not pursue this topic. The facts which I have produced are creditable to Oldys—and establish the existence of a REMARKABLE BLANK in the intelligence of D’Israeli.

3. “*The literary diary of Oldys would have exhibited the mode of his pursuits, and the results of his discoveries. One of these volumes I have fortunately discovered*”—
I. D’ISRAELI.¹²

D’Israeli remarks that Oldys was accustomed to record his *most secret emotions*; and immediately produces specimens as from the *fortunately-discovered* diary. Will it be believed? More than two-thirds of these specimens are copied from a volume which D’Israeli himself calls *far-famed*!¹³

4. “*It was an advantage in this primæval era of literary curiosity, that those volumes . . . which are now so ex-*

¹¹ Earl of Strafforde’s Letters, etc. 1739. Fol. 2 Vols. Preface.

¹² C. L., vi. 380.

¹³ Vide Langbaine, *Verso of Title, Preface, and Verso of Finis*.

cessively appreciated, were exposed on stalls, through the reigns of Anne and the two Georges. Oldys encountered no competitor, cased in the invulnerable mail of his purse, to dispute his possession of the rarest volume."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹⁴

This is the romance of bibliographical history, to which I oppose facts. Oldys obtained access to the richest libraries in England;¹⁵ and purchased as many as 200 volumes out of one collection—that of the Earl of Stamford.¹⁶ *No competitor!* He denounces rich monopolizers—men who "can never rest till they have gathered themselves libraries to doze in; like children, who will not be quiet without lights to sleep by." He complains of tracts being "prized at their weight in gold"—and declares that there were "never so many eager searchers after, or extravagant purchasers of scarce pamphlets."¹⁷

5. "*Oldys is chiefly known by the caricature of the facetious Grose, a great humourist, both with pencil and with pen: it is in a posthumous scrap-book, where Grose deposited his odds and ends, and where there is perhaps not a single story which is not satirical.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.¹⁸

And it is from this *posthumous scrap-book* that D'Israeli chiefly borrows his account of the habits of Oldys. He seems to value evidence in the inverse ratio of its credibility. If we compare the accounts which Grose gives of Ames, Ducarel, Warburton, etc. with those in the *Literary Anecdotes* of Mr. Nichols,

¹⁴ C. L., vi. 372. ¹⁵ Life of Sir W. R., pp. iv, vi, etc. + British Librarian, 1738. 8vo. p. 374. ¹⁶ Langbaine, p. 336.
¹⁷ Phoenix Britannicus, 1732. 4to. p. 558. ¹⁸ C. L., vi. 365.

(whose means of information, and candour of disposition, are undeniable) we must inevitably pronounce the *Olio* of Grose to be one of the most contemptible of books. Grose was a mere youth when Oldys died; and was never the man to appreciate his character. He informed Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald, that Oldys was a person of no *capacity*—and, at the same time, condemned him for not exercising his *literary abilities*!¹⁹ He stated, according to the printed account, that Oldys passed *most of his evenings at the Bell in the Old Bailey*. He informed Brooke that his *usual practise* was to remain in his library till 2 P.M., and then *adjourn to the Horn Tavern*.²⁰ It is on the authority of such a chronicler that D'Israeli talks about the *prevalent infirmity* of Oldys, and his *deep potations of ale*; and perhaps this is what Bulwer alludes to when he informs us that D'Israeli has made Oldys *peculiarly his own*!

§ 2. An account of the manuscripts of Oldys.

“*Oldys's manuscripts, or O. M. as they are sometimes designated, are constantly referred to by every distinguished writer on our literary history. I believe that not one of them could have given us any positive account of the manuscripts themselves!*”—I. D'ISRAELI.²¹

D'Israeli claims the merit of exhibiting a *silhouette* of Oldys. I re-exhibit the above as a *silhouette* of D'Israeli; executed by the artist himself, and full of character. The equitable and modest cast of the outline, I leave to the discovery of other physiognomists.

¹⁹ I. C. Brooke, *De Vitis Feacialium*, Ms. in the College of Arms. ²⁰ *Ibid.* ²¹ C. L., vi. 365.

As I am not a *distinguished writer on our literary history*, I may perhaps be able to give some *positive* account of the Mss. of Oldys. I commence with those which were in the possession of Mr. Thomas Davies in 1762.²²

ANNOTATED BOOKS.—FOLIO. No. 227 Nicolson's historical Libraries, *with a great number of Ms. additions, references, &c. by the late William Oldys, Esq; very fair*, 2l. 2s. 1736. [This volume was in the collection of Steevens, No. 1674, and of Heber, x. No. 2504. I claim the credit of identifying it. It was recently in the possession of Mr. Thorpe.] 230 Fuller's Worthies of England, *with Ms. corrections, additions, &c. by Mr. Oldys*. 1l. 11s. 6d. [The price cancelled.—I conjecture this volume to be at Strawberry Hill. There is a transcript of the notes in the Malone collection at Oxford—Cat. p. 15.] OCTAVO. 1371 Nicolson's Irish historical Library, *with Ms. additions by Oldys, and list of the Governors of Ireland*, 5s. 1724.—1511 Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets, by Langbaine and Gildon, *with Mss. additions by Oldys*, 3s. 6d. 1699.—TWELVES. 2354 Erle's Historical Dictionary of England and Wales, *with Ms. additions, alterations, &c. and an account of the author, by Mr. Oldys*, 5s. 1692. MANUSCRIPTS. FOLIO. 3612 Catalogue of books and pamphlets relating to the city of London: its laws, customs, magistrates; its diversions, publick buildings; its misfortunes, viz. plagues, fires, &c. and of every thing that has happened remarkable in London

²² A Catalogue of the Libraries of the late William Oldys, Esq; Norroy, King at Arms, (Author of the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh) etc. April 12, [1762.] By Tho. Davies, Bookseller. 8vo. pp. 146.

from 1521 to 1759, with some occasional remarks. [This volume was purchased by Steevens, who allowed Gough the use of it. It passed to Sir John Hawkins. — British Topography, i. 567, 761*.] — QUARTO. 3613 Of London Libraries: with anecdotes of collectors of books, remarks on booksellers, and on the first publishers of catalogues. [Mr. Heber, whose copy of the catalogue of 1762 lies before me, has marked this article with *N.B. N.B.* It evidently set him on the *qui vive*.] — 3614 Epistolæ G. Morley ad Jan. Ulitium. — 3615 Catalogue of graved prints, of our most eminent countrymen, belonging to Mr. Oldys. [I conjecture this volume to be at Strawberry Hill.] — 3616 Orationes habitæ in N. C. 1655 — English Verses. — 3617 Memoirs relating to the family of Oldys. [In the British Museum, Addit. Ms. 4240. The bequest of Dr. Birch.] — 3618 Barcelona: or the Spanish expedition under the conduct of the Right Hon. the Earl of Peterborough; a poem by Mr. Farquhar, *never before published*. [This seems to have been copied from the printed edition.] — 3619 The life of Augustus, digested into 59 schemes, by James Robey. — OCTAVO ET INFRA. 3620 The Apophthegms of the English Nation, containing above 500 memorable sayings of noted persons; being a collection of extempore wit, more copious than any hitherto published. [I conjecture this volume to be at Strawberry Hill. It was probably founded on a Ms. collection of earlier date. — Life of Sir W. R., p. xxxii] — 3621 Description of all kinds of fish. — 3622 The British Arborist, being a natural, philological, theological, poetical, mythological, medicinal and mechanical history of trees, principally native to this Island, with some select exoticks, &c. &c. *not finish'd*. — 3623 Description of trees, plants, &c. — 3624 Collection of Poems, written above 100 years since. — 3625 Trin-

archodia: the several raignes of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. in verse, supposed to be written 1650. [This volume became the property of J. P. Andrews. Park describes it — *Restituta*, iv. 166.] — 3626 Collection of Poems, by Mr. Oldys. — 3627 Mr. Oldys's Diary, containing several observations relating to books, characters, &c. [In the British Museum, Addit. Ms. 4245?] — 3628 Collection of observations and notes on various subjects. — 3629 Memorandum Book, containing as above. — 3630 Table of persons celebrated by the English poets. — 3631 Catalogue of Ms. [sic] written by Lord Clarendon. — 3632 Names of eminent English writers, and places of their burial, &c. — 3633 Descriptions of flowers, plants, roots, &c. — *3633 Descriptions of all kinds of birds. [Finis.]

This is a complete list of the annotated books and manuscripts of Oldys which were offered for sale by Mr. Davies in 1762. It appears from a memorandum presented to Nichols by Ducarel in 1784, that Horace Walpole purchased some of the most valuable articles; which has led me to conjecture that Nos. 230, 3615, and 3620, may be preserved at Strawberry Hill. Other annotated books shall now be briefly described:—

1. An account of the English dramattick poets. By Gerard Langbaine. Oxford, 1691. 8vo. [Oldys annotated this work till the year 1724. The copy fell into the hands of Coxeter, and afterwards of Theophilus Cibber. It was made use of in the *Lives of the Poets*, London, 1753. 12mo. 5 vols. — Langbaine, B. M. p. 353. + Berkenhout, *Biographia Literaria*, 1777. 4to. p. xi.]
2. An account of the English dramattick poets. By Gerard

Langbaine. Oxford, 1691. 8vo. [Oldys purchased a *second* Langbaine in 1727; and continued to annotate it till the latest period of his life. It is preserved in the British Museum, to which establishment it was bequeathed by Dr. Birch. The volume is almost filled with notes, interlineary and marginal, on the lives and works of the authors named. The handwriting is very minute, and the quantity of information extraordinary. Percy, Steevens, Malone, Reed, and Ruding, have made transcripts of these notes. The Malone transcript is now at Oxford.—Langbaine, B. M. *passim*. + Gent. Mag., 1784. p. 162. + Malone Cat. p. 22.] 3. The Lives of the most famous English poets. By W. Winstanley. London, 1687. 8vo. [Oldys frequently refers to his notes on Winstanley. Steevens seems to have possessed the volume. A transcript of the notes is preserved in the Malone collection at Oxford. — Langbaine, pp. 30, 39, etc. + Biog. Lit., p. 349, etc. + Malone Cat. p. 46.] 4. De Re Poetica: or, remarks upon poetry. By Sir Thomas Pope Blount. London, 1694. 4to. [A copy of this work, with the notes of Oldys, was in the collection of Reed, No. 6690; and of Heber, iv. No. 156. The notes are not numerous. The volume was purchased, on the latter occasion, by Mr. Thorpe.] 5. The English Topographer. [By R. Rawlinson.] London, 1720. 8vo. [A copy of this work, with the notes of Ames and Oldys, was in the possession of Snelling. Gough obtained the loan of it.—Brit. Topog., i. *Preface*, p. 51.]

Further proofs of the assiduity of Oldys in recording the results of his studies, shall appear in the next section.

§ 3. Illustrations of the *uncourtly style* of Oldys.

*" Oldys lived in the back-ages of England ; * * * and so loved the wit and the learning which are often bright under the rust of antiquity, that his own uncourtly style is embrowned with the tint of a century old." — I. D'ISRAELI.²³*

Oldys has recorded his sentiments on style, and I shall repeat them for the edification of D'Israeli. Adverting to the mutable nature of our language, he remarks that it " may moderate the conceits of those who depend upon a style, or manner of expression, more than the matter expressed, that will not, like most other things, become obsolete, but maintain its perspicuity, and engage the taste of all ages."²⁴

It must be admitted that Oldys, who was perpetually occupied in the collection and classification of facts, rather undervalued the attractive qualities of composition—but not to an extent which calls for much apology. The learned Campbell pronounces him to be a *very intelligent and judicious writer*;²⁵ and if, like other antiquaries, he occasionally falls into archaisms and inelegancies, he never attempts to make himself more conspicuous than his subject—which is more than I should choose to affirm of his critic.

I now offer three specimens of the style of Oldys ; the commencement of an essay, a private letter, and a biographical anecdote. The specimens which D'Israeli has printed, are inaccurate transcripts of mere memoranda and marginal jottings.

²³ C. L., vi. 371.

²⁴ British Librarian, 1738. 8vo. p. 128.

²⁵ Biog. Brit., p. 2201.

"Our famous Milton was the greatest example which our nation has produced, of a mind impatient under any apprehensions of slavery; and no one has shewed himself so zealous a champion for that freedom of our being, which he contended to be so essential to the dignity of our species. This spirit of freedom he demonstrated in his own poetry, by shaking off the manacles of rhyme: this spirit he extended more universally to the sentiments of others, by publishing a discourse upon the liberty of the press: this spirit he advanced even to government itself, against the sovereignty of one man: and this spirit he exerted against the bands of matrimony, for confining us so inseparably to one woman."—WILLIAM OLDYS.²⁶

In this paragraph there are some uncourtly notions; but they are not expressed in an *uncourtly style*. I do not hesitate to call it a capital miniature of Milton; and I believe the best of his biographers would be proud to claim it.

"Sir:

I received last night two guineas by the hand of my worthy and hon^{ble} friend Mr Southwell; for which favour, and much more for the polite and engaging manner of conferring it, besides this incompetent return of my sincere thanks, I have beg'd him to make my acknowledgments more acceptable, than in my present confused and disabled state, I am capable my self of doing. I have also desir'd him to intimate, how much more I might be obliged to you, if, at your leisure, and where you shall perceive it convenient, you wou'd so represent me to such hon^{ble} friends among y^r num'rous acquaintance, that they may help me towards a removal into some condition, wherein I may no longer remain altogether unusefull to mankind; which woud lay an obligation inexpressible upon

S^r Y^r most obedient

July 22^d. 1751.

Humble Serv^t.

To the Rev^d Mr: Birch

WM: OLDYS.²⁷

²⁶ Universal Spectator, 1756. 12mo. ii. 58. + Langbaine, p. 374.

²⁷ Addit. Ms. 4316. Art. 4.

This letter, which is honorable to all the parties named, seems to have been written in the Fleet prison. Oldys lost his *most invaluable friend and patron*,²⁸ the Earl of Oxford, in 1741; and quitted reluctantly the *Ark of Literature*.²⁹ The editorship of the *Harleian Catalogue*, the *Harleian Miscellany*, etc. afterwards supported him; but a work to which he extensively contributed was suspended in 1750—and it is to be feared that Oldys remained in prison till he was appointed Norfolk Herald extraordinary. — I revert to *style*. Detached specimens do not always convey an adequate idea of it. Comparison is essential. Accept, therefore, an anecdote in the *imbrowned* language of Oldys; and in the language of an admired writer of our own times.

“ Mr. Edward Wiemark, a wealthy citizen, great newsmonger, and constant Paul’s-walker, hearing there, the news of Sir Walter Raleigh’s death the day he was beheaded, and saying, among other things, ‘ His head would do very well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton,’ then secretary of state, was complain’d of, and summon’d to the privy council; where he pleaded, that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, only spake in reference to the old proverb, that ‘ Two heads were better than one;’ so for the present was dismiss’d. Not long after, when rich men were call’d upon for a contribution to St. Paul’s cathedral, Wiemark, at the council-table, subscribed a hundred pounds. But Mr. Secretary said, ‘ Two hundred are better than one, you know, Mr. Wiemark;’ which, between fear and charity, he was fain to subscribe.”—W. OLDYS.

“ The people were deeply affected at the sight, [the execution of Sir W. R.] and so much, that one said, that ‘ we had not such another head to cut off;’ and another ‘ wished the head and

²⁸ W. O., On Nicolson, p. vi.

²⁹ Life of Sir W. R., p. cv.

brains to be upon Secretary Naunton's shoulders.' The observer suffered for this; he was a wealthy citizen, and great news-monger, and one who haunted Paul's Walk. Complaint was made, and the citizen summoned to the privy-council. He pleaded that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary; but only spoke in reference to the old proverb, that 'two heads were better than one!' His excuse was allowed at the moment; but when afterwards called on for a contribution to St. Paul's Cathedral, and having subscribed a hundred pounds, the Secretary observed to him, that 'two are better than one, Mr. Wiemark!' Either from fear, or charity, the witty citizen doubled his subscription."—* * *

The inferiority of the style of Oldys is not very obvious from this comparison; a circumstance rather remarkable—for the latter fragment has been printed as the composition of I. D'Israeli, Esq.³⁰

§ 4. Illustrations of the expertness with which D'Israeli has leaped over what most redounds to the honor of Oldys.

"Oldys affords one more example how life is often closed amidst discoveries and acquisitions. The literary antiquary, when he has attempted to embody his multiplied inquiries, and to finish his scattered designs, has found that the LABOR ABSQUE LABORE, 'the labour void of labour,' as the inscription on the library of Florence finely describes the researches of literature, has dissolved his days in the voluptuousness of his curiosity; and that too often, like the hunter in the heat of the chase, while he disdained the prey which lay before him, he was still stretching onwards to catch the fugitive!"—I. D'ISRAELI.³¹

I have read this paragraph repeatedly, with the

³⁰ C. L., v. 230.
and 377.

³¹ C. L., vi. 391.—See also pp. 373

hope of discovering some ambiguity in it. It too clearly means that Oldys had designed a general account of our literature, which he failed to execute. Clarendon was bespattered, that another historian of Charles I. should appear more spruce; and Oldys is reduced to the mere designer of too formidable an enterprise, in order that the admiration of the public should be kept in reserve for the future *historian of our vernacular literature*. He is admitted to have been a *prodigy of curiosity* — who left us a *barren list of manuscript works*! Now, I maintain that Oldys never formed the design attributed to him; that he executed to an admirable extent what he did design; and that the principal fact was known to D'Israeli.

The favorite pursuit of Oldys was *Biography*. He commenced with biography in 1722;³² ten years afterwards he intimated his attachment to it;³³ before he had completed his fortieth year he produced one of the most perfect specimens of biography in the English language; and, in short, to biography his immense researches were chiefly subsidiary. D'Israeli observes that Oldys *could not fly for instant aid to a BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA*; but does not even hint that he was a contributor to that work. He had read the statement in Kippis, in Grose, and in Chalmers; but he chose to conceal it. I shall, therefore, detail the contributions alluded to, and point out their importance:—

³² Langbaine, p. 285.

³³ *Phœnix Britannicus*, p. vii.

Contributions of W. Oldys to the *Biographia Britannica*,
London, 1747-66. Folio, 7 Vols.

Volume and Date	Name.	Claim to Admission.	Year of de- cease.	No. of Pages.
i. 1747	George Abbot .	Archbishop of Canterbury .	1633	14½
	Robert Abbot .	Bishop of Salisbury .	1617	2½
	Sir Thomas Adams*	Lord Mayor of London .	1667	1½
	W. Alexander, Earl of Stirling*	Statesman and Dramatic Writer .	1640	5
	Charles Aleyn*	Historical Poet .	1640?	1½
	Edward Alleyn*	Founder of Dulwich College	1626	7½
	William Ames .	Divine .	1633	1½
	John Atherton .	Bishop of Waterford .	1640	8
	Peter Bales* .	Writing Master .	1610?	11
	John Bradford*	Protestant Martyr .	1555	16½
ii. 1748	William Bulleyn*	Physician and Botanist	1578	9½
	William Caxton .	Printer .	1491	26½
	Michael Drayton*	Historical & Pastoral Poet .	1631	5
iii. 1750	Sir Geo. Etherege*	Dramatic Writer .	1688?	8
	George Farquhar*	Dramatic Writer .	1707	11
	Sir John Fastolf .	Statesman and Warrior .	1459	10½
	Thomas Fuller .	Historian etc. .	1661	20
	Sir Will. Gascoigne*	Judge .	1413?	13½
	Fulke Greville, Lord Brook .	Biographer and Poet .	1628	12½
iv. 1757	Rich. Hakluyt .	Naval Historian .	1616	14
	Wenceslaus Hollar*	Engraver .	1677	8½
	Thomas May .	Historian and Poet .	1650	6
v. 1760				

These articles have the signature G. — Ducarel ascribes them to Oldys,³⁴ who claims several of them in his annotations.³⁵ The choice of subjects affords a remarkable proof of his intelligence and discrimination. The twelve persons whose names are marked with *asterisks* were not commemorated in the *General Dictionary*³⁶ — which was the most learned and voluminous of the previous repertories of biography — but now appear in our best collections, the *General Biographical Dictionary*,³⁷ and the *Biographie Universelle*.³⁸

³⁴ Ms. Memoir. ³⁵ Langbaine, pp. 1, 213, 257, etc.

³⁶ London, 1734-41. Fol. 10 vols. ³⁷ London, 1812-17. 8vo.

32 Vols. ³⁸ Paris, 1811-28. In-8. 52 Vol.

On the execution of the articles, I submit some short remarks. The life of Archbishop Abbot is especially commended by the author of the preface to the work; and was reprinted in 1777. 8vo. The life of Edward Alleyn is also justly characterised by the same writer as *very curious*. The article on Peter Bales, if rather discursive, is rich in information; and contains, in the notes, a history of writing-masters. Bulleyn, whose works were formerly popular, receives due attention. As Gough remarks, Oldys has "*rescued him almost from oblivion.*"³⁹ Master William Caxton occupies more than twenty-six pages. Oldys had carefully examined the chief portion of his rare volumes; and Dr. Dibdin admits that his "*performance is in every respect superior to that of Lewis.*"⁴⁰ The account of Drayton and his works is an interesting specimen. Oldys points out the numerous deficiencies of the splendid edition of 1748; and his information seems to have led to the completion of it. The life of Sir John Fastolff, of which the first sketch was contributed to the *General Dictionary* in 1737, is the result of extraordinary research. The Fastolff of history and the Falstaff of fiction are ingeniously contrasted. The account of Fuller is compiled with peculiar care; and affords a remarkable proof of the extent to which the writings of an author may be made contributive to his biography. The *History of the Worthies of England*, which Oldys frequently consulted, is characterised with much candour; and he has very appropriately intro-

³⁹ British Topography, 1780. 4to. i. 133.
 Antiquities, 1810. 4to. p. lxxiv.

⁴⁰ Typographical

duced the substance of a Ms. essay on the *toleration of wit on grave subjects*. Sir William Gascoigne is copiously historised. Oldys, with his usual ardour in search of truth, obtained the use of some *Memoirs of the family of Gascoigne* from one of the descendants of Sir William, and a communication from the Rev. R. Knight, Vicar of Harwood, where he was buried. The life of the patriotic Hakluyt claims especial notice. Oldys had pointed out his merit more than twenty years before;⁴¹ and seems never to have lost sight of him. He has left an admirable memorial of the "*surpassing knowledge and learning, diligence and fidelity, of this naval historian*"—and it well deserves to be separately re-published. The account of Hol-lar and his works is written with the animation and tact of a connoisseur. Oldys justly describes him as *ever making art a rival to nature*, and as a *prodigy of industry*. He also reviews the graphic collections of his admirers, from Evelyn to the Duchess of Portland. The article on May was his last contribution. He vindicates the *History of the Parliament* from the aspersions cast on it—in which he is supported by Bishop Warburton, Lord Chatham, etc.

It may be safely asserted that no one of the contributors to the *Biographia Britannica* has produced a richer proportion of *inedited* facts than William Oldys; and he seems to have consulted every species of the more accessible authorities, from the *Fœdera* of Rymer to the inscription on a print. His united articles, set up as the text of Chalmers, would occupy about a thousand octavo pages.

⁴¹ Life of Sir W. R., p. cix. + British Librarian, p. 137.

Oldys would no doubt have continued his labours, had his life been spared. He was preparing accounts of Otway,⁴² Mary Countess of Pembroke,⁴³ Katharine Phillips,⁴⁴ Thomas Rawlins,⁴⁵ Thomas Rymer,⁴⁶ and Shakspeare.⁴⁷ His collections on Shakspeare were very copious, but not *digested*; as he informed Ducarel a *few days before his death*.⁴⁸

A portion of the Mss. of Oldys was purchased, some time before the year 1778, for the proprietors of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. Kippis describes them as a "large and useful body of biographical materials;"⁴⁹ and we find them quoted on Arabella Stuart, John Barclay, Mary Beale, W. Browne, Sam. Butler, etc.

Kippis promised an account of Oldys;⁵⁰ but did not reach the letter O. I therefore once more commend our *literary antiquary* to Sir Harris Nicolas.

A very remarkable feature in the farewell essay on Oldys remains to be described. D'Israeli insidiously omits to notice one of the most important portions of his labours; assumes his inability to execute what he never contemplated; hints an imprisonment of six years in the Fleet while he was sporting with the *mountain nymph* in Yorkshire; prates about his *infirmity* and his *deep potations of ale* on the most contemptible evidence; censures his style, and produces no other specimens than absurdly-erroneous transcripts of private memoranda; and winds up with

⁴² Langbaine, p. 400. ⁴³ Ibid. p. 402. ⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 403.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 424. ⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 433. ⁴⁷ Ibid. pp. 455, 399.

⁴⁸ Ms. Memoir. ⁴⁹ Biog. Brit., i. *Preface*, p. 20. ⁵⁰ Ibid. ii. *Preface*, p. 8.

a sneer at his *solitary groans*, his *poetical bags*, his *parchment budgets*, etc. — yet he announces the essay as a *vindication* of Oldys! And this is the essay which Bulwer trumpets as an instance of the *profundity of analysis*!

I have almost deviated into serious reprehension; and can scarcely persuade myself to conclude in the usual style—but the formulary is indispensable.

Those who are familiar with theatrical exhibitions must be aware that actors, when about to make their *exceunt*, are particularly solicitous of applause; and sometimes *o'er-step the modesty of nature*, or even express *more than is set down for them*. Very similar circumstances occur in literature; which D'Israeli has notably exemplified in his farewell essay on Oldys. The essay, however, has a species of merit to which no critic can be insensible. It corresponds with the title of the work — being indisputably one of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * * In the art of concentrating error, Mr. D'Israeli may have formidable rivals—but he has not many compeers. I have pointed out three errors on the civil law, in a *curiosity* of four lines; and six errors on numismatics, in a *curiosity* of ten lines. It would be unhandsome, however, to dwell on those specimens. As Mr. D'Israeli is a graduate in civil law, and a titled antiquary, he may have written rather carelessly—in the over-confidence of his qualifications. I have now, as it fortunately happens, to examine a portion of his new *curiosities* on a subject which he has considered more attentively.

He assures us that his article on Oldys was the result of "long and arduous inquiries" — and that if "ever he composed with the *devotion* of a *votary*" it was on that occasion. We may fairly expect a substantial aftercrop; and I invite the reader to partake of some of these fresh fruits of persevering research and votive enthusiasm.

First specimen. — Mr. D'Israeli has justly characterised Oldys as a man of "unswerving veracity"⁵¹ — as a "prodigy of literary curiosity"⁵² — as one with whom a "single line was the result of many a day of research"⁵³ — yet he *modestly* pretends that the feelings of Oldys "echoed in his own bosom." Verily, this is a choice specimen of *auto-eulogy*.

Second specimen. — It was stated by Mr. D'Israeli that every *distinguished writer* on our literary history had referred to the manuscripts of Oldys without being able to give "any *positive* account of the manuscripts themselves!" — and I undertook, conceiving myself to be a person sufficiently obscure, to supply the desideratum. On this our Illustrator remarks, that "Mr. Corney gives . . . what *he calls* a '*positive*' account of these Mss. of Oldys." This remark should not be undervalued. The figure of speech is of extreme rarity: it seems to be a maxim with most writers to avoid *auto-quizzing*!

Third specimen. — When a man controverts himself, we may safely pronounce him to be a controversialist of the true breed. "It must have been a strange device of mine," says Mr. D'Israeli, speaking

⁵¹ C. L., vi. 369.

⁵² Ibid. vi. 391.

⁵³ Ibid. vi. 378.

of the contributions of Oldys to the *Biographia Britannica*, "to conceal that which all the world knows."⁵⁴ The same Mr. D'Israeli, who chose to conceal the contributions in question, also declares that Oldys is "only popularly known through his own essay."⁵⁵ This is an undoubted specimen of *auto-controversy*.

Fourth specimen. — This specimen shall be made up of two extracts. "To Dr. Percy, . . . we are indebted, for directing us to the purchase of a large and useful body of biographical materials, left by Mr. Oldys."—Andrew Kippis, D.D. 1778.⁵⁶ "Mr. Corney . . . takes no notice whatever of that considerable lot, [of the Mss. of Oldys] which I had *discovered* had been disposed of to Kippis for the *Biographia Britannica*."—I. D'Israeli, 1838.⁵⁷ A fact which was communicated to the public in 1778, could not have been *discovered* by Mr. D'Israeli. He speaks, on another occasion, of *original discoveries* :⁵⁸ perhaps this is intended as a specimen of *secondary discovery* !

Fifth specimen. — I censured Mr. D'Israeli for giving specimens of the *secret emotions* of Oldys as from a volume which he had *fortunately discovered*—because I found more than two-thirds of those specimens in a volume which he stated to be *far-famed*. The charge admitting of no reply, he pretends that I "captiously protest that these emotions are not *secret*, since they are found in a volume now open to all antiquaries." There is nothing more convenient, in certain cases, than *misrepresentation* and *evasion*.

⁵⁴ I. I., p. 70.
 edition, I. p. xx.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 79.

⁵⁷ I. I., p. 68.

⁵⁶ Biog. Brit., Second

⁵⁸ C. L., vi. 363.

Sixth specimen.—The assertion that I gave an account of the Mss. of Oldys from the *same materials* which Mr. D'Israeli had used, is too ridiculous to deserve an answer—but his assertion that, *in giving it*, I took *no notice whatever* of the portion which was obtained for Kippis, is undeniable. I said, however, at the end of the second section, “Further proofs of the assiduity of Oldys in recording the results of his studies, shall appear in the next section”—and I therein described the Mss.—in the words of Kippis; pointing out several articles in which they are cited. It must be admitted that the latter assertion of Mr. D'Israeli is a masterpiece of *quibbling criticism*.

Seventh specimen.—It is stated by Mr. D'Israeli, with admirable gravity, that the contributions of Oldys to the *Biographia Britannica* were irrelevant to his subject “in the *psychological character* of the literary antiquary.” So it appears that mental tendencies and qualifications have no connexion with individual character. We may infer the practicability of giving a *psychological character* of Bacon, without one word of allusion to the *advancement of learning*; of Shakspeare, without glancing at the *well-trod stage*; and of Nelson, or Wellington, without having *one battle in the book*! This is a curious *discovery* on the application of *psychology*.

Eighth specimen.—I shall commence with an extract: “When Oldys was employed in compiling the Harleian Miscellany, which is a collection of pamphlets, it was *not amiss* to inform the world that tracts were ‘prized at their weight in gold.’”—I. D'ISRAELI. Oldys made his remark on the prices of

tracts, in 1731;⁵⁹ and the *Harleian Miscellany* was not published till 1744-6!⁶⁰ If we are to believe Mr. D'Israeli on this occasion, Oldys *foresaw* his connexion with the Earl of Oxford—*foresaw* the death of his patron in 1741—*foresaw* the disposal of the Harleian books to Mr. Osborne—*foresaw* the publication of the *Harleian Miscellany*—and over-stated the prices of tracts, in order to promote the sale of a work of which he *foresaw* that he should become the editor. It is evident that Mr. D'Israeli has very extraordinary ideas on *candour* and *chronology*.

Such are the precious fruits of his arduous research, and votive enthusiasm. Such is the mode in which he attempts to illustrate the Honorary Professor—to vindicate Oldys—and to vindicate himself!

ART. XXIV. — The poet Shenstone — the schoolmistress Sarah Lloyd — the critic D'Israeli : an anticlimax.

“ A deep and tender vein of sentiment runs, at no unfrequent times, through your charming lucubrations ; and I might instance, as one of the most touching, yet unexaggerated conceptions of human character, that even a novelist ever formed, the beautiful *Essay upon Shenstone*.” — E. L. BULWER, Esq. M. P. to I. D'ISRAELI, Esq.¹

⁵⁹ Phoenix Britannicus, 1732. 4to. comp. pp. vii & 558.

⁶⁰ The Harleian Miscellany : or, a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, etc. London : T. Osborne, 1744-6. 4to. 8 vols. ¹ England and the English, *Third Edition*, ii. 49.

D'Israeli has two articles *anent* my favorite Shenstone—a vindication of the poet, and a critical disquisition on one of his choicest poems.² Bulwer omits to state which of the *charming lucubrations* called forth his laudatory eloquence; and, the family likeness being very striking, I shall consider the united articles as forming the *beautiful essay*.

It must be admitted that Bulwer, in addressing the said laudation to D'Israeli himself, has evinced a very just *conception of character*. I contend, nevertheless, that the *beautiful essay* is—but I shall produce the facts, and leave the reader to enjoy the luxury of drawing his own inferences.

Detached annotations may perhaps be sufficient for the occasion. I should not choose to incur the expense of weaving my remarks into an essay; and, besides, an attempt to rival the *beautiful essay* might seem to prove the absence of that *deep and tender vein of sentiment*, without which it would be too much to hope for the applause of the sagacious distributor of celebrity.³

§ 1. "*The domestic life of a poet.—Shenstone vindicated.*"

1. "*The dogmatism of Johnson, and the fastidiousness of Gray, . . . have fatally injured a fine natural genius in Shenstone.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

D'Israeli comes forward to vindicate the poet. He has given a specimen of his peculiar ideas on the

² C. L., v. 173-91. The domestic life of a poet. — Shenstone vindicated. +iv. 353-9. Shenstone's School-mistress. ³ *Vide* England, Book the fourth, *passim*.

nature of vindication in his rhapsody on Oldys; and he is anxious to do the same justice to Shenstone. So much by way of preface.

2. "*Four material circumstances influenced his character, and were productive of all his unhappiness.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

One material circumstance influenced his character, and was productive of his unhappiness — which circumstance D'Israeli passes over in silence. The source of his unhappiness was want of *health*. Even in his sixteenth year he had courted the *capricious maid* in the *woods*, and in the *wave*, and at the *mineral fountain*, without success.⁴ At thirty we find him subject to *fits of fever*, to *lowness of spirits*, to *twitchings of the nerves*, to *involuntary vigils*, etc.⁵—and thus he wrote, at that heyday period of life, to his intimate friend the Rev. Richard Graves: "About half the appetite, digestion, strength, spirits, etc. of a mower, would make me the *happiest of mortals!*"⁶

3. "*Four material circumstances, etc. The neglect he incurred in those poetical studies to which he had devoted his hopes;*" etc.—I. D'ISRAELI.

In 1737 Shenstone printed, for *private distribution*, a small volume of poems.⁷ In 1740 he published a shilling pamphlet,⁸ and in 1741 a sixpenny pamphlet⁹ — all *anonymously*. In 1748 his name

⁴ The Works in verse and prose, of W. Shenstone, Esq. 1764-9. 8vo. 3 Vols. — i. 130. ⁵ Ibid. iii. 90, 95, 99, etc.

⁶ Ibid. iii. 101. ⁷ Poems upon various occasions. Oxford, 1737. Sm. 8vo. pp. viii + 72. ⁸ The Judgment of Hercules, a poem. 1741. 8vo. + Works, iii. 18.

⁹ The School-mistress, a poem. 1742. 8vo. + Works, iii. 53.

appeared as a poet, *without his sanction*.¹⁰ In 1755, having been *pressed* by Dodsley,¹¹ he contributed to his miscellany the *Pastoral Ballad, Rural Inscriptions*, etc.¹² The ballad had been twelve years in *manuscript*; and the inscriptions were published at the *instigation* of Sir George Lyttelton.¹³ In 1758 he contributed a further portion of his poems to the same miscellany,¹⁴ some of which were intended to appear *anonymously*.¹⁵ His elegies, chiefly written in early life, were left in *manuscript*.—Such is the poetical history of Shenstone; and it certainly affords no evidence of his inordinate appetite for poetical fame!

4. “*Why have the ‘Elegies’ of Shenstone, which forty years ago formed for many of us the favourite poems of our youth, ceased to delight us in mature life?*” — I. D’ISRAELI.

Why have the *Elegies* of Shenstone—the very portion of his poems which he forbore to publish—been chosen as the measure of his poetical stature? Why is the *Pastoral Ballad*—which Akenside “preferred to every thing of the kind, either ancient or modern”¹⁶—despatched with a solitary epithet? Have the *Rural Inscriptions* no claim to admiration? Has the *Ode to Memory* ceased to *delight us in mature life*? Should it have been left in *oblivion*?

¹⁰ A Collection of Poems. R. Dodsley, 1748. 3 Vols. Vol. 4, 1755. Vols. 5 & 6, 1758, 12mo. — i. 211. + Works, iii. 200.

¹¹ Ibid. iii. 257. ¹² A Collection etc. iv. 338-63. ¹³ Works, iii. 288. ¹⁴ A Collection etc. v. 1 etc. ¹⁵ Works, iii. 313.

¹⁶ Recollection of some particulars in the life of the late W. Shenstone, Esq. [To W. Seward, Esq. F.R.S. by the Rev. R. Graves.] 1788. Sm. 8vo. p. 106.

5. "*To what a melancholy state was our author reduced, when he thus addressed his friend: — 'I suppose' etc. The features of this sad portrait are more particularly made out in another place.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

Shenstone, like most *dyspeptic* subjects, was apt to whine;¹⁷ and *our invalid* would sometimes relieve himself at the expense of his correspondents.¹⁸ D'Israeli forms a portrait of *our author*, by the junction of two of these querulous scraps. The interval, on which not a word is said, was seventeen years!¹⁹

6. "*Whenever forsaken by his company he describes the horrors around him, delivered up 'to winter, silence, and reflection;' ever foreseeing himself 'returning to the same series of melancholy hours.'*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

I am no match for D'Israeli in *ingenuity* of quotation, but shall venture to throw in a word of criticism. Shenstone foresaw a *series of melancholy hours*—because he had just experienced *fits of fever*, and was apprehensive of a relapse.²⁰ He admitted that he was delivered up to *winter, silence, and reflection*—but he admitted, at the same time, that the summer had proved even a *scene of jollity*!²¹

7. "*Shenstone was early in life captivated by a young lady, whom Graves describes with all those mild and serene graces of pensive melancholy,*" etc.—I. D'ISRAELI.

This is an amusing specimen of what D'Israeli—when exercising his critical sagacity on others—calls the *innocence of criticism*. The nameless *young lady* whom Graves describes was his own sister.²²

¹⁷ Works, iii. 60.

¹⁸ Ibid. iii. 45.

¹⁹ Ibid. iii. 44, 311.

²⁰ Ibid. iii. 98-9.

²¹ Ibid. iii. 232.

²² Recollection etc.

pp. 40, 46.

8. "*It was his own fault that he did not accept the hand of the lady whom he so tenderly loved ; but his spirit could not endure to be a perpetual witness of her degradation in the rank of society, by an inconsiderate union with poetry and poverty.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

A man of *letters* should know that Miss G. was not Miss C. — I can believe that Shenstone might have obtained the hand of Miss G., whom he always remembered affectionately: "it will be necessary to *my ease*," says he, "that whoever marries her she should be happy."²³ With Miss C., to whom alone the remark on loss of rank is applicable,²⁴ he seems scarcely to have passed the limits of flirtation.²⁵

9. "*It is probable that our poet had an intention of marrying his maid [Mary Cutler].*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

A *touching* conception of character ! It appears in evidence, 1. That Shenstone made a jocular allusion to marrying his maid. 2. That he presented her with his portrait as a new-year gift. — But, it is improbable that he had such an intention. 1. *Because* he made a jocular allusion to it. 2. *Because Mrs. Arnold* had much influence over him by her *charms*, her incantations, etc. 3. *Because in the envoi to Mary Cutler* he calls himself her *master*—and love is notoriously a leveller. 4. *Because about nine years elapsed between the jocular allusion and the presentation of the portrait.*²⁶

10. "*The solitary magician, who had raised all these*

²³ Works, iii. 162.

²⁴ Select Letters, 1778. 8vo. ii. 19.

²⁵ Works, iii. 86+Graves, Recollection etc. p. 105. ²⁶ Works, iii. 117.+10, 95, etc.

wonders, [at the Leasowes] was, in reality, an unfortunate poet, the tenant of a dilapidated farm-house, where the winds passed through, and the rains lodged, etc. — I. D'ISRAELI.

The Leasowes was originally a small farm-house, but Shenstone exercised his skill and taste in improving it.²⁷ Masons, carpenters, carvers, etc. were put in requisition;²⁸ and we find that Lady Lubbock, with two other friends, and their five servants, were entertained for nine days in this *dilapidated farm-house, where the winds passed through, and the rains lodged!*²⁹

11. "*His elegant mind had not the force, by his productions, to draw the celebrity he sighed after, to his hermitage.*" — I. D'ISRAELI.

The Leasowes was one of his *productions*—the "*offspring of his fancy*"; and "long before he died," says Dr. Nash, "*it had attracted the notice and procured him the friendship of persons the most distinguished for rank or genius.*"³⁰

12. "*This article has been written in vain, if the reader has not already perceived, that they [the hopes and expectations of Shenstone] had haunted him in early life; sickening his spirit after the possession of a poetical celebrity, unattainable by his genius; some expectations too he might have cherished from the talent he possessed for political studies,*" etc. — I. D'ISRAELI.

The chief misfortune of Shenstone was constitutional debility. An *infernal lawsuit* also robbed him

²⁷ Graves, *Recollection*, pp. 71-2.

²⁸ Works, iii. 191, 226.

²⁹ Ibid. iii. 227.

³⁰ Hist. of Worcestershire, 1781. Fol. i. 530.

of his peace "for six of the best years of his life."³¹ Both these facts D'Israeli conceals! Another source of unhappiness is often alluded to in his correspondence.³² D'Israeli, with his usual candour and consistency, asserts it to have been a "*master-passion for literary fame*,"—pretends that it "*eluded his grasp*"—that the *calamity* of this "*fine natural genius*" was "*mediocrity of genius*"—and sums up as above, supporting his conclusions by a FALSIFICATION OF THE TEXT of Shenstone!

The truth is no mystery. Shenstone had intended to follow some lucrative profession; but the indolence which too frequently accompanies debility, and the rural delights of Harborough, overcame him.³³ He soon perceived his error,³⁴ and even foretold its consequences—but he could not retrace his steps. He next cherished hopes of preferment,³⁵ which he never obtained; and, finally, he clung to the hope of a pension—which death intercepted.³⁶ In 1748, which was his thirty-fourth year, he thus addressed Mr. Graves: "I have lost *my* road to happiness, I confess; and, instead of pursuing the way to the fine lawns, and venerable oaks, which distinguish the region of it, I am got into the *pitiful parterre-garden of amusement*, and view the nobler scenes at a *distance*."³⁷

Explanation would be impertinence. I rather commend the passage to the notice of those who think it

³¹ Works, iii. 338.

³² Works, iii. 10, 44, 59, etc.

³³ Graves, Recollection etc. pp. 31-6.

³⁴ Poems, 1737. *Ded.*

+ Works, iii. 35.

³⁵ Ibid. iii. 82.

³⁶ Graves, Recollection,

pp. 165-6.

³⁷ Works, iii. 161.

irksome to *labour in their vocation*.—It is observed by Graves, whose career was better adapted to secure happiness, that the effects of an inactive life on Shennstone are TOO EVIDENT in his correspondence³⁸—but one of the *calamities* of D'Israeli is obliquity of vision.

§ 2. On the editions, poetical character, index, and embellishments, of the *Schoolmistress*.

1. “ *This first edition is now lying before me, with its splendid ‘red-letter,’ its ‘seemly designs,’ and what is more precious, its ‘Index.’* ”—I. D'ISRAELI.

The first edition was printed in 1737³⁹—five years earlier than this ardent explorer of the curiosities of our national literature supposes. It has neither *red-letter*, nor *seemly designs*, nor *Index*.

2. “ *The purpose of this poem has been entirely misconceived. * * * it has been admired for its simplicity and tenderness, not for its exquisitely ludicrous turn !* ”—I. D'ISRAELI.

Who could *misconceive* its drift? Neither Sarah Lloyd, who sat for the portrait, nor any one of the *simple vassals* who yielded obedience to her *birchen sceptre*. Read, Mr. D'Israeli, the conclusion of it—an eulogy on the inventor of *Shrewsbury Cakes*! Remember, also, that in quoting the second stanza you found it convenient to alter the punctuation, and omit the *tender* line:—

“ Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame ”—

3. “ *This discovery [of the character of the poem] I owe to the good fortune of possessing the original edition of ‘The School-Mistress,’* ”—I. D'ISRAELI.

³⁸ Recollection etc. p. 56.

³⁹ Poems, 1737. pp. 17-22.

To the edition of 1742 Shenstone added a LUDICROUS INDEX, to show *fools*—as he very significantly says—that he was *in jest*;⁴⁰ and D'Israeli, who cites the anecdote, admits that he is indebted to that index for his discovery. Can he discover a choice of inferences?

4. “*But ‘the fool,’ his subsequent editor, who, I regret to say, was Robert Dodsley, thought proper to suppress this amusing ‘ludicrous index,’*”—I. D'ISRAELI.

Dodsley made no alterations in the collective edition of 1764, without the concurrence of the *most judicious friends* of Shenstone⁴¹—so that the suppression might have been attributed to an *assembly of fools*! But what is the fact? In 1758 Shenstone communicated to Dodsley, for publication in his miscellany, a revised and enlarged copy of the *School-mistress*—omitting the crude and useless Index.⁴² The *fool*, therefore, was William Shenstone, Esquire.

5. “*The truth is, that what is placed in the landskip over the thatched-house, and the birch-tree, is like a falling monster rather than a setting sun; but the fruit-piece . . . Mr. Mynde has made sufficiently tempting.*”—I. D'ISRAELI.

Mynde was the engraver employed;⁴³ but certainly did not etch the fruit-piece—nor could he make any thing *tempting*. The comparison which D'Israeli offers is one of the wildest conceptions that *even a novelist ever formed*. The *setting sun* more resembles a TIPULA SILVESTRIS, or Father-long-legs!

⁴⁰ Works, iii. 69.

⁴¹ Works, i. Preface, p. 7.

⁴² A Collection etc. Edit. 1758. i. 241.

⁴³ Works, iii. 54.

6. "*I shall now restore the ludicrous INDEX, and adapt it to the stanzas of the later edition.*"—I. D'ISRAELI.

The achievement of D'Israeli is the triumph of criticism! He *discovers* the *ludicrous turn* of a poem which had been described as *partly burlesque* before he commenced his *charming lucubrations*;⁴⁴ and restores an index which the improved taste of its author led him to suppress! If we may believe Bulwer, these are *specimens of a great whole*⁴⁵—the *history of our vernacular literature*.

I take leave of Shenstone and Sarah Lloyd with the familiarity which old acquaintance justifies. To D'Israeli and Bulwer it becomes me to make a ceremonious bow. — I consider the *beautiful essay* as one of the most impudent and absurd pieces of criticism that ever spoiled child of popularity ventured to publish—that ever spoiled child of popularity ventured to praise—and as perhaps without parallel, except in the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * As the article on Shenstone is now considerably extended, and occasionally *acuminated*, a short note is all that can be requisite.

Mr. D'Israeli objects against me that I "look upon the case of Shenstone like an apothecary." We may conclude that he would consider it as impertinence in an apothecary, to *look upon the case of an invalid!*

The remark, in one respect, was not infelicitous—for many persons consider that I have *hit the case* of

⁴⁴ Graves, Recollection etc. p. 142. ⁴⁵ England, ii. 4.

Mr. D'Israeli very exactly—though, from the chronic obstinacy of his complaint, the treatment adopted has not been attended with all those beneficial effects on the *temperament* of the patient, which the experience of ordinary cases might have led his friends and admirers to expect.

ART. XXV.—M. de Buffon and the *Tour de Saint Louis*—a critico-topographical sketch.

“*Buffon often quitted the old tower he studied in, which was placed in the midst of his garden, for a walk in it ;*”—
I. D'ISRAELI.¹

Johnson remarks, in very characteristic phrase, that to “abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible.”² The charm of such associations is indeed extensively felt; and perhaps no lover of literature could visit, without receiving some beneficial impulse, the *Tour de Saint Louis* at Montbar—the favorite study of Buffon.

It is therefore desirable to ascertain its exact site; and it obviously comes within my jurisdiction to correct an author who would mislead.

The lamented Cuvier, who was a warm admirer of Buffon,³ and is one of his best biographers,⁴ describes as the most curious of the contemporaneous accounts

¹ C. L., i. 59. ² Journey to the Western Islands, 1775. 8vo. p. 346. ³ Mrs. R. Lee, Memoirs of Baron Cuvier, 1833. 8vo. p. 12.

⁴ Biog. Univ., vi. 234-42.

of him the *Visite à Buffon* of M. Hérault de Séchelles.⁵ To that narrative I shall have recourse for an elucidation of the point at issue; and as perpetual criticism, unless imperatively demanded for the sake of literature, is as repugnant to my feelings as it would be irksome to the reader, I shall intermix a portion of anecdote and description.

M. de Séchelles, a young *avocat du roi* of family and fortune,⁶ visited M. le Comte de Buffon at Montbar in 1785.⁷ He had recently complimented that eminent writer as the INTERPRÈTE DE LA NATURE; and was very graciously received.⁸ Buffon was then in his seventy-eighth year; but his appearance was that of a man of sixty, and his literary ardour was unabated.⁹ His favorite topics of conversation were natural history—composition—and *himself*.¹⁰ I omit the effusions of his vanity, to introduce some *morceaux choisis* of more importance to students.

Newton ascribed his discoveries to “industry and patient thought.”¹¹ Buffon said “Le génie n’est qu’une plus grande aptitude à la patience.”¹² He was no doubt sincere in this very consolatory opinion; for he meditated much before he took up the pen—revised and altered with unexampled perseverance what he had composed—and bestowed on it such repeated perusals, that *he had all his writings by heart*!¹³ He seems to have advised an exclusive attention to

⁵ *Visite à Buffon*, 1788. In-8.=*Voyage à Montbar*. Paris, An ix. In-8. ⁶ Beugnot, *Biog. Univ.*, xx. 222. ⁷ *Voyage à Montbar*, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 2, 6. ⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 6, 17, etc.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 23, 48. ¹¹ *Hist. of Grantham*, 1806. 4to. p. 173.

¹² *V. à M.*, p. 15. ¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 20, 18, 46.

the capital works in each class of literature.¹⁴ Such advice, however, should not be received without caution—for secondary works frequently afford important facts, and capital works sometimes exhibit astounding fictions. He considered precision of ideas, and their correspondence, as the most valuable properties of composition; and declared himself to be still a learner in that exalted art.¹⁵ His studies were his greatest pleasure, and occupied the chief portion of his time. To some person who expressed surprise at his celebrity, he made this memorable reply, “J’AI PASSÉ CINQUANTE ANS À MON BUREAU.”¹⁶

The residence of M. de Buffon was no *château*; but it contained twelve rooms, was in excellent order, and very well furnished. The garden was planted with pines, plane-trees, sycamores, etc. flowers being intermixed. It was very steep, and had thirteen irregular terraces. There had formerly been a pit in which were kept lions and bears; and some extensive aviaries still remained.¹⁷

I proceed to describe his favorite *cabinet*, as it appeared to M. de Séchelles when he first viewed it.—The entrance was by green folding doors, within which was a screen on each side. The room was paved with tiles, wainscotted, and hung with prints of the birds and some quadrupeds belonging to the *Histoire Naturelle*. The only furniture was a couch, some old chairs covered with black leather, a table on which were some manuscripts, and a small black-looking table. His writing-desk, a coarse piece of

¹⁴ V. à M, p. 52. ¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 25, 47, 24. ¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 14, 44. ¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 4, 10, 11.

chestnut-tree furniture, stood near the fire-place. It was open; but there was nothing to be seen except the manuscript on which he was then engaged, the *Traité sur l'Aimant*. His pen lay by the side of it; and above the desk was a cap of grey silk which he was accustomed to wear. Before it was his arm-chair, an old affair in bad state, on which had been carelessly thrown a red morning gown with white stripes. Opposite the seat, on the wall, was an engraved portrait of Newton. — I shall add to this curious picture the emphatic words of M. de Séchelles: "*Là Buffon a passé la plus grande et la plus belle portion de sa vie. Là ont été enfantés presque tous ses ouvrages.*"¹⁸

This favorite *cabinet* was in the *Tour de S. Louis*, at the distance of *presque un demi-quart de lieue*, or about five hundred English yards, from the mansion of Buffon — and situated "*à l'extrémité de ses jardins.*"¹⁹

The precise situation of the *Tour de S. Louis* may seem perhaps, after all, a very unimportant question. Facts, however, are never unimportant: they are the parents of inferences — the parents of the whole circle of science. From the statement of D'Israeli we should conclude that Buffon chose the old tower as his study for the convenience of a refreshing walk on every side. The inference would be erroneous. The *Tour de S. Louis* was, as I have had occasion to remark, about five hundred yards from the house. Now, Buffon was very methodical; and chose to pur-

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 13, 14.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 17.

sue his studies at that distance, not merely to avoid intrusion — but, says M. de Séchelles, “*parce qu’il aime à séparer ses travaux de ses affaires.*”²⁰ To comprehend the force of these words, we must remember that Buffon was a man of business as well as a man of letters: his iron-works sometimes occupied four hundred pairs of hands.²¹

I have no inclination to censure D’Israeli for the slight inaccuracy contained in the above TEXT; but have chosen to illustrate it, because it exemplifies the connexion between facts and inferences — and may have its utility as a short and easy lesson for some of the numerous artificers of books who are now carrying on their operations. Such were the reasons which led me to transfer it from the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * * Patience under criticism is not one of the conspicuous virtues of authors; but it must be admitted, in their defence, that criticism is sometimes insidiously and rashly exercised. When administered by an accredited Professor, and in just proportions — neither over-sharply, nor *infinitesimally* — it should be submitted to with the best possible grace. Now, I maintain that Mr. D’Israeli, in this particular, is utterly graceless.

When I have treated him sarcastically — for he is *not only* sarcastic *in himself*, *but the cause that sarcasm is in others* — his excitement overflows in the “style of the fish-market.” When circumstances have permitted

²⁰ V. à M., p. 18. . . ²¹ Ibid. p. 29.

me to express myself with my habitual moderation, he returns it with *sarcasm*. Thus, he calls the article on the Bayeux Tapestry, a *meek dissertation*; and he says of the above article, in which I pass no censure on him, that I am *evidently ashamed of it*!

ART. XXVI.—The romance of modern history—last words of the *Duc d'Enghien*.

"At the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, the royal victim, looking at the soldiers, who had pointed their fuses, said, 'Grenadiers! lower your arms, otherwise you will miss, or only wound me!' To two of them who proposed to tie a handkerchief over his eyes, he said, 'A loyal soldier who has been so often exposed to fire and sword, can see the approach of death with naked eyes, and without fear.'"—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

"I was just going to ask you," said Spence in conversation with Pope, "a very foolish question, 'What should we read for?' For? why, to know facts;"²—I readily forgive Spence for asking this *very foolish question*, since it led him to place on record a *very judicious answer*; an answer which, if it had due influence on writers and readers, would produce an immeasurable improvement in the state of our literature.

On the first glance at the extract relative to the

¹ C. L., v. 335. ² Observations, etc. by the Rev. J. Spence, 1820. Sm. 8vo. p. 45.

Duc d'Enghien, I pronounced it to be a *fiction*. Entertaining decided notions as to the value of facts, notions perhaps similar to those which dictated the above-recorded answer, I made some exclamation not very complimentary to D'Israeli, and marked the extract for illustration.

I did not feel confident that I should be able to trace it to its source; but, with access to one of the richest libraries in the world, where every desirable facility is afforded to the researches of the studious, there seemed a chance of success. The search scarcely occupied ten minutes. The *curiosity of literature* proved to be a mere transcript from the *Annual Register*; ³ but D'Israeli, who loves to attempt emendations, transposes the paragraphs of which it consists, and so adds to fiction—ABSURDITY.

No authentic account of the arrest and execution of the Duc d'Enghien could be expected while France remained under the domination of Napoléon. In 1814 M. le Comte de Firmas-Périès published a well-written biographical sketch of the unfortunate prince.⁴ He admits, “*les derniers mots qu'on lui prête n'ont pas assez d'authenticité pour que nous les consacrons ici.*” In 1815 M. le Baron de Marguerit, aided by various communications, wrote a more circumstantial account of his life.⁵ M. Michaud, in a letter which I owe to his courtesy, dated *Paris, le 1^{er} Aoust 1815*, describes the *notice* of M. de Marguerit

³ A. R. for 1804, p. 160. ⁴ Notice historique sur L.-A.-H. de Bourbon-Condé, duc d'Enghien, etc. A Paris, Michaud frères, 1814. In-8.+ Barbier, Dict. des ouvrages anonymes, 1822-7. No. *23027. ⁵ Biog. Univ., xiii. 149-57.

as very complete and accurate, "*parcequ'elle a été fournie en grande partie par des personnes attachées au prince.*" To M. de Marguerit I shall therefore appeal for the *last words of the Duc d'Enghien*. I have read with attention two important pamphlets of later date:⁶ they do not impeach the accuracy of what I am about to transcribe:—

"On quitte la salle du conseil, l'on descend dans le fossé par un escalier étroit, obscur et tortueux. Le prince se retourne vers l'officier, [qui avait été élevé dans la maison de Condé] et lui dit: '*Est-ce que l'on veut me plonger tout vivant dans un cachot? Suis-je destiné à périr dans les oubliettes?* — Non, monseigneur, lui répond-il en sanglotant, soyez tranquille.' On continue de marcher, et l'on arrive au lieu du massacre. Le jeune prince voit tout cet appareil et s'écrie: '*Ah! grâce au ciel, je mourrai de la mort d'un soldat.*' * * * Murat et l'un des aides-de-camp de Buonaparte étaient présents à l'exécution. En allant à la mort, le duc d'Enghien désira qu'on remit à la princesse de Rohan, une tresse de cheveux, une lettre et un anneau. Un soldat s'en était chargé; l'aide-de-camp s'en aperçoit, les saisit en s'écriant: '*Personne ne doit faire ici les commissions d'un traître.*' Au moment d'être frappé, le duc d'Enghien, debout, et de l'air le plus intrépide, dit aux gendarmes: '*Allons, mes amis.* — Tu n'as point d'amis ici,' dit une voix insolente et féroce: c'était celle de Murat. Il fut à l'instant fusillé dans la partie orientale des fossés du château, à l'entrée d'un petit jardin."

After transcribing the above melancholy narrative, I am in no disposition to conclude in the style of the preceding articles; and shall therefore leave

⁶ 1. Pièces judiciaires et historiques relatives au procès du duc d'Enghien [par M. Dupin aîné]. Paris, Baudouin frères, 1823. In-8.—2. Extrait des Mémoires de M. le duc de Rovigo, concernant la catastrophe de M. le duc d'Enghien. A Paris, C. Gosselin, etc. 1823. In-8.

the reader to shape his own inferences as to the extent of information, the ideas of historical testimony, and the evidences of a love of truth, which are discoverable in the compiler of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * The comment on this article is chiefly remarkable as affording the materials of two new canons of historical criticism — which, for the benefit of students, I shall draw out in form :—

CANON I. An account *not wholly inconsistent* with the best authority, is a *sufficient authority*.

CANON II. When a subject is mentioned *incidentally*, it is not necessary to aim at accuracy.

These canons should be fixed in the memories of all those who propose to read the *lively miscellany*, or other lively works of the historian of *flim-flams, quarrels, calamities*, etc.

ART. XXVII.—An immaculate edition—Os *Lusiadas* de Camoões, por Dom Jozé Maria de Souza-Botelho.

“ *Whether such a miracle as an immaculate edition of a classical author does exist, I have never learnt ; but an attempt has been made to obtain this glorious singularity — and was as nearly realised as is perhaps possible in the magnificent edition of As [sic] Lusiadas of Camoens, by Dom Joze Souza, in 1817.*”—I. D'ISRAELI.¹

¹ C. L., i. 117.

D'Israeli, in exhibiting his pretensions as a cultivator of literary history, hazards the expression *barren bibliography*.² Now, it is scarcely possible to take a safe step in literary history, or in editorship, without the aid of this *barren bibliography*! I could cite in proof numerous instances; but one may suffice—the *immaculate edition of Os Lusíadas*.

The volume is entitled, *Os Lusíadas, poema epico de Luis de Camoës. Nova edição correcta, e dada á luz, por Dom Iozé Maria de Souza-Botelho, Morgado de Matheus, Socio da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Paris, na officina typographica de Firmin Didot, 1817. Folio. Portrait of Camoens, and eleven plates.*

This edition was printed at the expense of M. de Souza for *private distribution*. If we except the Marlborough *Gems*, the Bute *Botanical Tables*, the Worsley *Museum*, and the Blundell *Statues*, it is perhaps the most magnificent of that class of books. The type, which is of peculiar beauty, was cast for the purpose; the paper is of the finest quality; and M. Firmin Didot, a true lover of the art, bestowed extreme care on the composition and press-work. M. Gérard, who contributed the portrait of Camoens, undertook the superintendence of the embellishments; and the gravers of Forster, H. Laurent, F. Lignon, Richomme, Toschi, etc., faithfully exhibited the drawings of Desenne and Fragonard.

The appearance of this volume fixed attention. It was reviewed by M. Raynouard with all the richness of information, accuracy of taste, and lucidness of

² Athenæum, 1835. p. 626.

manner, which distinguish his writings;³ and a committee of members of the Institut Royal, comprising MM. Visconti, Guérin, etc., which had been appointed to examine it as a *work of art*, after expressing their admiration at the successful efforts of those who contributed to its execution, thus concluded their report :—

“ Ce travail, que M. de Souza a consacré à l'honneur du poète son compatriote, et à l'avantage de la littérature de son pays, devient dès aujourd'hui, par la communication libérale qu'il en fait à toutes les nations du monde civilisé, *un monument plus glorieux, plus utile et plus durable que ceux même que l'on peut ériger avec le marbre et le bronze.*”⁴

The noble sentiments which animated M. de Souza in this enterprise, shall be explained in his own words; which I transcribe from the original Ms.

“ A Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Cantorbéry et les autres *Gardiens* du Musée Britannique.

Monseigneur, Milords et Messieurs

Venant de terminer une édition du Camoë's que j'ai soignée avec le sentiment d'amour pour la Patrie, et d'enthousiasme pour le Poëte qui a si bien chanté les tems de notre gloire, permettez-moi, Monseigneur, Milords et Messieurs, de vous prier de vouloir bien me faire l'honneur de faire placer l'exemplaire cy joint dans

³ Journal des Savans, 1818. pp. 387-98. The J. des S. was re-established in 1816; and is an inexhaustible treasury of information. It contains above 1400 articles by MM. Abel-Rémusat, Biot, Chézy, Cousin, Daunou, Letronne, Quatremère de Quincy, Raoul-Rochette, Raynouard, Silvestre de Sacy, etc. MM. F. Cuvier, Flourens, Naudet, Villemain, etc. have lately become contributors. The editorial labour of 21 years has not abated the zeal and activity of M. Daunou. ⁴ Ibid. p. 389.

la bibliothèque du Musée Britannique, cet ouvrage ne devant pas être vendu.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute Considération

Monseigneur, Milords et Messieurs

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

D. Joseph Marie de Souza."

I shall now inquire to what extent the views of M. de Souza were realised. The first edition of *Os Lusíadas* was printed at Lisbon by Antonio Gonçalves in 1572. 4to. A second edition was printed in the same year, and much resembles it; but in the former, the *privilegio* has "em Lisboa, a vinte & quatro dias do mes de Setembro, de MDLXXI." — and in the latter, "em Lisboa, a. xxiiij: de Setembro," etc.⁵ M. de Souza had before him two copies of the first edition, (one of which had been transmitted to him by Lord Holland,)⁶ but could not obtain a sight of the second edition for the purpose of collation.⁷ He therefore adopted the first edition as his standard; admitting, however, from the second a few readings which had been communicated to him in manuscript.⁸

About the year 1825 a copy of the second edition was obtained for the Royal Library at Paris;⁹ and the text having been carefully collated with that of

⁵ *Vide* Bibliotheca Heberiana. Part VI. 1835. Nos. 605 and 606. I availed myself of this opportunity of comparing the two editions. It is stated in the catalogue, that the second "*appears to have been printed as a fac-simile of the first edition, and probably some years after it!*" ⁶ *Os Lusíadas*, 1817. Adv. p. vi.

⁷ *Ibid.* Adv. p. iii.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 378.

⁹ Brunet, *Nouvelles Recherches Bibliographiques*, 1834. In-8. i. 259.

the first by M. Mablin, a man of letters conversant with the niceties of the Portuguese language, it became evident that the *second* edition *had been revised by Camoens himself*.¹⁰ M. Mablin published the result of his collation in 1826.¹¹ He records, and critically discusses, about *thirty* emendations which are contained in the *second* edition, but were *not admitted into that of 1817*; so that the volume which had been projected with such rare enthusiasm, which was printed with such consummate art, adorned with such exquisite taste, produced at so immense an expense, distributed as a model of editorial care, and crowned with unlimited applause—fails to possess what constitutes the chief excellence of a classical edition—fails to exhibit what it was the especial object of M. de Souza to establish and perpetuate, a PURE AND CORRECT TEXT!

The precipitancy with which M. de Souza adopted the conclusion that the *second* edition of *Os Lusíadas* had not been revised by Camoens is most unaccountable. Father Diogo Barbosa Machado, the oracle of the literary history of Portugal, stated in 1752 that the second was a revised edition.¹² Dom José Carlos Pinto de Sousa also made the same statement in 1797; with the addition that there were then two copies in Portugal—one in the Royal Library, and

¹⁰ Raynouard, *Journal des Savans*, 1826. p. 528, etc. ¹¹ Lettre à l'académie royale des sciences de Lisbonne, sur le texte des *Lusiades*. Paris, 1826. In-8. pp. 77. ¹² "Foy esta obra [*Os Lusíadas*, 1572.] recebida com tal aplauso do orbe literario que no mesmo anno se reimprimio *mais correcta*." *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisboa, 1741-59. Fol. iii. 74.

the other in the library of the Marquis de Angeja.¹³ This *second* edition is indeed one of the RAREST BOOKS IN EXISTENCE; but, if the public libraries of France could furnish no copy of it, if the two copies alluded to had disappeared before 1817, M. de Souza could easily have obtained a collation of its text—for it is preserved among the treasures of OUR OWN NATIONAL MUSEUM.¹⁴ Nor was that the sole instance in which M. de Souza undervalued *bibliography*. The edition printed at Lisbon in 1609, faithfully represents the revised text of 1572; and is, says M. Mablin, “sans contredit une des meilleures.”¹⁵ M. de Souza *had not seen that edition*!¹⁶—but it is in my own small collection.

I am aware that the encomiastic anecdote was chiefly borrowed of an estimable writer;¹⁷ and that the counter-evidence contained in the above remarks was not at that time accessible. But, why was the anecdote repeated in 1834? Had the lights held out by Raynouard and Mablin never penetrated the beechen shades of our county of *Bucks*? I shall not pursue the inquiry—having sufficiently commented on this portion of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * Is the comment on the above article *genuine*?
The point might be doubted, for the Honorary Pro-

¹³ Bibliotheca Historica de Portugal. Lisboa, 1797. 8vo. p. 101.

¹⁴ B. M. Cat. 8vo. ii. Art. Camoens. I have minutely examined this copy, aided by the valuable pamphlet of M. Mablin.

¹⁵ Lettre, etc. p. 7. ¹⁶ Os Lusíadas, 1817. Adv. p. ix. ¹⁷ Vide J. Adamson, Memoirs of Camoens, 1820. 8vo. ii. 371.

fessor escapes without *one* injurious epithet — but, from other circumstances, it appears to have been written by Mr. D'Israeli.

He is now convinced that *barren bibliography* makes a *fructiferous* figure in literary history; and it is announced that what he artistically calls his “large picture of the history of man,”¹⁸ is to be “critical, philosophical, and *bibliographical*.”¹⁹ To explain this mystery, he informs us that “bibliographers are a class of men who are always at hand, ready at a beck.” We may infer that he has received some new light touching the expediency and utility of the *conjunction of labours*.

ART. XXVIII. — The three species of Discovery — in part illustrated by I. D'Israeli, Esq., D.C.L. and F.S.A.

“*I have discovered*” — I. D'ISRAELI.¹

This short text would invite to ample discussion; but the subject has been incidentally illustrated in most of the preceding articles — to which let me add a sort of corollary.

There are three species of discovery; 1. The discovery of that which no one else had discovered. 2. The discovery of that which no one else can discover. 3. The discovery of that which every one else has discovered.

¹⁸ Athenæum, 1835. p. 626.

¹⁹ Publishers' Circular, No. 1.

¹ C. L., *passim*.

1. The first species of discovery is the choicest product of human intellect and curiosity—seldom obtained without laborious research, and patient consideration. It forms the proudest triumph to which the votary of science or literature can aspire—and every instance of baseless claim to it, deserves exposure; deserves, if advanced *unintentionally*, to be disproved by facts—if *insidiously*, to be held up to unsparing censure and contempt. This, it has been seen, is not an occasion which invites me to descant on the happy art—nor shall I here enumerate its laureate chiefs: their names and symbols appear on the adamantine walls of the TEMPLE OF FAME!

2. The second species of discovery is a contribution to the *diffusion of error*. What proof have we that the *original* Ms. of the *Code* of Justinian was discovered at Amalfi?² What proof that Odon bore a mace at the battle of Hastings, in order that *he might not spill blood, but only break bones*?³ Are there *testons* of Henry VIII. with a *head stamped on each side*?⁴ Have we evidence to deprive Vasari and Raleigh of the honors of authorship?⁵ Are we to believe that Cervantes *composed the most agreeable book in the Spanish language during his captivity in Barbary*?⁶ Did Philip III. of Spain die in the *twenty-fourth year of his age*?⁷ Is it true that Purchas *spent his life in travels*?⁸—that Lady Gethin had *no conception of the claims of virtue*?⁹—that Newton was led to meditate by a *smart blow on the head*?¹⁰—that Col-

² Art. i.³ Art. ii.⁴ Art. iii.⁵ Arts. iv. and ix.⁶ Art. viii.⁷ Art. x.⁸ Arts. xi. and xii.⁹ Art. xx.¹⁰ Art. xxi.

lins burnt his odes before the door of his publisher?¹¹ etc. etc. — The man who corrects one prevalent error, or adds one fact to the published mass, is entitled to thanks: the service, trivial in appearance, may dispel a host of false inferences, and lead to important results. An author who, through extreme ignorance, or the reckless ambition of discovery, contributes to the diffusion of error — is not so valuable a member of society as a village schoolmaster.

3. The third species of discovery, with no claim to brilliancy, has at least no mischievous tendency; and it sometimes proves a source of amusement. Ex. Gr. “*Table-books of ivory are still used for memoranda.*”¹² Aristarchus himself could scarcely condemn such innocent information—or, if disposed to express himself in the *irascible mood*, could only condemn it as the superfluity of discovery.

I dismiss this expansive subject—which, in truth, would almost require a *second series* of illustrated *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * * The new *Illustrator* very *unceremoniously* despatches this article, as it stood in the former edition, by declaring—it “calls for no remarks from me.” I have introduced some additional touches; and hope he will now recognise himself—at least in one section.

Perhaps, however, he would have acted judiciously by despatching, with the same *cool* phrase, the other portions of the *Curiosities of Literature Illustrated*.

¹¹ Art. xxii. ¹² C. L., iii. 41.

ART. XXIX.—The science of Literary Economy—"Masterly Imitators."

"A Trick of following their Leaders
To entertain their gentle Readers."—S. BUTLER.

An experienced person informs us that "*the craft of authorship has many mysteries.*"¹ This is mere tantalization: it becomes *me* to be more communicative.

There exists a science which has escaped all our encyclopedists. Occasional traces of it are discoverable in antiquity; but its elaboration has been the work of modern times. I have named this hitherto-nameless science, and shall now define it.

LITERARY ECONOMY embraces the various means by which the producing classes of the community of literature—sometimes erroneously called *authors*—are enabled to meet the demands of the consuming classes—in common parlance *readers*—with the lowest amount of capital, and the least possible quantum of the labour of research and composition.

A general view of the science would occupy more space than it would be convenient to allot; and, as the disclosures involved in it might check the demand for the commodities of literature—a demand which, if no objection attach to the articles on the score of quality, it would afford me extreme pleasure to promote—I shall now only notice its comparatively obvious

¹ C. L., i. 201.

instruments, *Transcription*, *Translation*, and *Conversion*.

I must apologize for deviating from one of the established rules of *literary economy*—in citing the authors to whom I am indebted.

Specimen of *Transcription*.

Picart. — “The taste of his day, ran wholly in favour of antiquity: ‘No modern masters were worth looking at.’ Picart, piqued at such prejudice, etched several pieces in imitation of ancient masters; . . . These prints were much admired, as the works of Guido, Rembrandt, and others. Having had his joke, he published them under the title of *Impostures innocentes*.”—W. GILPIN, M.A.²

“Picart had long been vexed at the taste of his day, which ran wholly in favour of antiquity, and no one would look at, much less admire, a modern master. He published a pretended collection, or a set of prints, from the designs of the great painters; in which he imitated the etchings and engravings of the various masters, and much were these prints admired as the works of Guido, Rembrandt, and others. Having had his joke, they were published under the title of *Imposteurs Innocens*.”—I. D’ISRAELI.³

Transcribers sometimes improve on their exemplars. Gilpin very gravely informs us that *Picart* was *piqued*: D’Israeli rejects this alliteration—but admits that he was *vexed*. Gilpin writes *Impostures innocentes* = innocent impositions: D’Israeli writes *Imposteurs innocens* = innocent impostors. Admire, ye lovers of rhetoric, the personification!

² Essay on Prints, 1781. 8vo. p. 110. + 1792. 8vo. p. 77.

³ C. L., ii. 13.

Second specimen of *Transcription*.

"Some of his friends had advised him [the Duke of Buckingham] how generally hee was hated in England, and how needfull it would bee for his greater safetie to weare some coate of maile, or some other secret defensive arnour; which the duke slighting, saied, 'It needes not; ther are noe Roman spirits left.'"—Edited by J. NICHOLS, 1783.⁴

"I discovered the following notice of the Duke of Buckingham in the unpublished life of Sir Symonds d'Ewes. 'Some of his friends had advised him how generally he was hated in England, and how needful it would be for his greater safety to wear some coat of mail, or some other secret defensive armour, which the duke slighting said, 'It needs not; there are no Roman spirits left.'"—I. D'ISRAELI.⁵

Manuscript authorities add to the dignity of composition; but the perusal of ancient Mss. is rather laborious — as Herr von Raumer, or Sir Harris Nicolas would testify. The most economical method is to transcribe from print, and to cite the transcript as a Ms.

One inconvenience, however, attends this method. We cannot cite the authority with the requisite minuteness. In the above, and in three similar instances, we have only—*Harl. Ms.* 646.⁶

Specimen of *Translation*.

"L'Abbé de Marolles avoit une si grande démangeaison d'écrire, qu'il faisoit imprimer jusqu'à des Listes & à des Catalogues de ses amis, *** M. Menage fit mettre sur le Livre de la Traduction des Epigrammes de Martial par l'Abbé de Marolles, *Epigrammes contre Martial*."—M. CHARPENTIER, 17 ?⁷

⁴ Extracts from the Ms. Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1783. 4to. p. 39. ⁵ C. L., iv. 170. ⁶ C. L., iv. 121, 124 bis.

⁷ Carpentariana, Paris, 1724. In-12. pp. 42-3.

"This Abbé [de Marolles] was a most egregious scribbler; and so tormented with violent fits of printing, that he even printed lists and catalogues of his friends. * * * On a book of his versions of the Epigrams of Martial, this critic [Ménage] wrote, *Epigrams against Martial*."—I. D'ISRAELI.⁸

This specimen calls for two remarks. Dryden or Pope would have said *itch of scribbling*—but D'Israeli has fits of refinement.—Did the *learned Ménage* write on *calf-skin*? I apprehend he employed *M. le Relieur* to quiz M. l'Abbé.

Second specimen of *Translation*.

"Mignard peignit une Magdeleine sur une toile de Rome, & Garrigue alla donner aussitôt avis en secret au Chevalier de Clairville, qu'il devoit recevoir une Magdeleine du Guide, qui passoit pour un chef-d'œuvre. Le Chevalier pria Garrigue de lui en faire avoir la préférence qu'il promit de paier. Le tableau fut vendu deux mille livres."—M. l'Abbé DE MONVILLE, 1730.⁹

"This great artist [Pierre Mignard] painted a Magdalen on a canvass fabricated at Rome. A broker, in concert with Mignard, went to the Chevalier de Clairville, and told him as a secret that he was to receive from Italy a Magdalen of Guido, and his masterpiece. The chevalier caught the bait, begged the preference, and purchased the picture at a very high price."—I. D'ISRAELI.¹⁰

This translation occurs in the article *Masterly Imitators*—but it is not a masterly imitation. Why was the name of M. Garrigue omitted? He was a *dealer in curiosities*! Why are the words *deux mille livres* translated by *a very high price*? This leaves too much to fancy.

⁸ C. L., ii. 147. ⁹ Vie de P. Mignard, Paris, 1730. In-12. p. 90. ¹⁰ C. L., ii. 11.

Specimen of *Conversion*.

" M. Prunis, Chanoine régulier de Chancelade en Périgord, parcouroit cette Province pour faire des recherches relatives à une Histoire du Périgord qu'il avoit entreprise. Il arrive à l'ancien Château de Montaigne, possédé par M. le Comte de Ségur de la Roquette, pour en visiter les archives, s'il s'y en trouvoit. On lui montre un vieux coffre qui renfermoit des papiers condamnés depuis long-tems à l'oubli; on lui permet d'y fouiller. Il découvre le Manuscrit original des *Voyages de Montaigne*, l'unique probablement qui existe." — M. DE QUERLON.¹¹

" A prebendary of Perigord, travelling through this province to make researches relative to its history, arrived at the ancient *chateau* of Montaigne, in possession of a descendant of this great man. He inquired for the archives, if there had been any. He was shown an old worm-eaten coffer, which had long held papers untouched by the incurious generations of Montaigne. Stuffed in clouds of dust, he drew out the original-manuscript of the *Travels* of Montaigne." — I. D'ISRAELI.¹²

When the cost of an edifice threatens to exceed the estimate, the projector looks about for cheap materials; and converts them, with more or less skill, to the purposes required. It is precisely the same in literature. D'Israeli *converts* the materials which he obtained of M. de Querlon into a *curiosity*.

We will examine his performance.—Why is the name of M. Prunis omitted? He was a discoverer of the true class. Why is his *literary project* concealed? It evidently led to his success. And why is he ejected from the Abbey of Chancellade? Is he made a Prebendary of Périgord by way of compensation? The office was a nonentity! There were indeed

¹¹ Journal du Voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, etc. Paris, 1774. In-4. Disc. prélim. p. ii. ¹² C. L., i. 32.

thirty-four Canons of *Périgueux*. On what authority is it said that the chest was *worm-eaten*, and that M. Prunis was *stifled in clouds of dust*? These are curious specimens of *embellishment*!

Now, suppose that A. should *convert* the narrative of D'Israeli; and that B. should *convert* the narrative of A. Would a shadow of the truth remain?

I have freely availed myself of *transcription* on this occasion; and shall close with a specimen of *conversion*, from the learned author of *Hermes*.

And so much for Transcription, and so much for Translation, and so much for Conversion. So much likewise as to the subject of this treatise, LITERARY ECONOMY—for which be all honor paid to the nominal author of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * I have *discovered* a science which Bacon omitted to register—which has eluded the microscopic eye of M. Ampère; and I have established the claims of Mr. D'Israeli as one of its votaries.

With what coin does he reward me? He passes over my sagacity and my generosity; declares that the article “calls for no remarks;” and so—blowing at the house of cards which it has cost him such infinite pains to build—rejects the honor of being considered as one of those who—

“ * * * entertain their gentle readers.”

ART. XXX. — Hints on *Camaraderie Littéraire*—with select specimens.

“ Le proverbe thérapeutique *Passe-moi la casse et je te passerai le séné*, est applicable à presque toutes les conditions et à tous les états ; mais nous le voyons justifié d’une manière incroyable dans l’histoire de la république des lettres, surtout à certaines époques plus rapprochées de la nôtre.”—DE MOLÉON.

We are indebted to M. de Moléon for one of the earliest essays on *camaraderie littéraire*.¹ It is written with considerable animation ; but it wants profundity, and the adornment of specimens.

The term may require explanation. CAMARADERIE LITTÉRAIRE denotes the excessive laudation bestowed by one writer on another under the expectation of a prompt repayment in the same coin, and the repayment itself. The object of the traffic is, the *accumulation of popularity* — which leads to the *accumulation of pelf*.

It is clear, from this definition, that no man in his sober senses would lavish the riches of his phrase-book on so unattractive a subject as the *quarrels of authors*—with so wide and flowery a field before him, as *camaraderie littéraire*.

There are two branches of it. 1. *Camaraderie littéraire en masque*, and 2. *Camaraderie littéraire ouverte*. To the former pertain anonymous paragraphs inserted in newspapers, and anonymous articles contributed

¹ Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde, iv. 553.

to reviews — with *auto-reviews* of both descriptions, and to the latter, those paragraphs which bear the name of their respective authors.

The first branch is almost a *TERRA INCOGNITA*. Without some positive enactment — without a *return* of the names of all those who have exercised the art of preparing ultra-laudatory paragraphs, reviews, etc. — the subject must remain intangible. Perhaps the Honorable Member for Kilkenny will make a motion for such a *return*. In the interim, some idea of the anonymous system may be obtained from the five volumes of *Periodical Criticism* by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.—allowance being made for its operation in the hands of reviewers of inferior stamp.

The second branch presents no difficulties. The materials are abundant. I offer a selection of specimens, as a guide to aspirants and collectors.

“ Lord Orford, honourably known under the name of Horace Walpole (a name that presents to the mind, taste, fancy, and learning) has said ” etc.—I. D’ISRAELI, 1795.²

Speculations sometimes fail. Horace Walpole died in 1797, without having made a response. He could not foresee that D’Israeli would become the *Horace Walpole of literature*³ — and characterise the *véritable* Horace Walpole as one of the *Pucks* of literature.⁴

“ The sepulchral monuments of Mr. Gough, form a splendid work of this kind, [illustrative of ancient manners] which has deservedly gained their author the distinguished title of the English Montfaucon.”—I. D’ISRAELI, 1793.⁵

² Essay on the Literary Character, 1795. 8vo. p. 208. ³ Bulwer, England, ii. 49. ⁴ C. L., vi. 84. ⁵ Dissertation on Anecdotes, 1793. 8vo. p. 7.

This was another unfortunate speculation—unfortunate for both parties! Mr. Gough made no response. He died in 1809; and in 1823 the aforesaid D'Israeli chose to denounce our *English Montfaucon* as a man *rarely over-kind to any one*—as a *light-fingered antiquary*—as a purloiner of *relics of royalty*!⁶

These specimens, it must be admitted, are not very attractive; and, indeed, are rather offered by way of caution than of guidance. Our prospect now becomes more exhilarating.

“See also some very curious matter further confirming this disputed point, in Mr. D'Israeli's *Quarrels of Authors*: a work replete with interesting anecdote, selected and arranged with infinite taste.”—S. W. SINGER, 1820.⁷

“We have been taught to enjoy the two ages of Genius and of Taste. The literary public are deeply indebted to the editorial care, the taste, and the enthusiasm of Mr. Singer, for exquisite reprints of some valuable writers.”—I. D'ISRAELI, 1823.⁸

The due observance of proportion, and the delicacy with which the *infinite* and the *exquisite* are balanced, render this a choice pair of specimens. The most fastidious collector might give it a place in his scrap-book.

“Mr. D'Israeli, the modern ‘*Indagator invictissimus*’ of every thing that is *curious* and interesting, and precious, relating to our history and literature,”—T. F. DIBDIN, 1824.⁹

“I *discover many hundred new things* in it, [The *Library Companion*] and your skilful reference to existing objects . . . is most happy and peculiar. * * * I shall often be looking you over,

⁶ C. L., vi. 108-9. ⁷ Anecdotes, etc. by the Rev. J. Spence, 1820. 8vo. p. 144. ⁸ C. L., vi. 370. ⁹ *Library Companion*, 1824. 8vo. p. 201.

and I have no doubt I shall be able to supply some *important corrigenda* for a future edition."—I. D'ISRAELI, 1824.¹⁰

The Rev. Dr. Dibdin, whose works richly deserve *illustration*, is the laudator general of men of letters—his critics excepted. He has performed the duties of his office with considerable vivacity—but, on this occasion, without sufficient inquiry into the laudability of his object. The answer is characteristic of its author—a perfect *curiosity*.

"Memoirs of the Embassy of the Marshal de Bassompierre to the Court of England in 1626. Translated with Notes. 8vo. 1819. I recollect no volume of the size in our historical literature so desirable for the general reader as the present. Its varied information is perpetually enlivened by a searching spirit, which strikes at the results of historical evidence, deducing inferences, and detecting nice discriminations, such as a mind practised in the business of life, and drawing from its own experience, could alone discover, and which prove that the writer has been conversant with courts more modern than those of the historical antiquary. The writer, or the Editor, as in the coyness, or the pride of his talents, he styles himself, is *John Wilson Croker, Esquire*, M.P. Secretary of the Admiralty; a gentleman in office, who has had the rare merit of occupying his leisure by literature."—I. D'ISRAELI, 1828.¹¹

"To Mr. D'Israeli's love and knowledge of literary history, and to his friendly assistance, the editor is very much indebted;"—J. W. CROKER, 1831.¹²

The *royal salute* fired off by D'Israeli must have been a severe trial to the feelings of Mr. Croker. It was more than the *regulations* prescribed; and he

¹⁰ *Reminiscences*, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, 1836. 8vo. pp. 731-2. ¹¹ *Commentaries on Charles I.* 1828. 8vo. i. 131.

¹² *Boswell's Johnson*, 1831. 8vo. Preface, p. xxii.

answered it, after an interval, with extreme economy of ammunition.

“ Mr. D’Israeli, from whose works the best-informed reader may learn much, and who in the temper of his writings as well as in the research which they display, may be a useful model for succeeding authors, calls Bunyan ‘ the Spenser of the people.’ ” — ROBERT SOUTHEY, 1830.¹³

Vive muchos años, excelentísimo Señor — and continue to produce works which will attain longevity. Continue also to praise, where praise is due; but, when you deliver Ms. to Caxton — remember the influence of your name.

“ One writer I must single from the rest — I speak of yourself . . . the Horace Walpole of literature . . . the most elegant gossip upon the learned letters . . . you who have studied the *literary character* so deeply . . . have portrayed so well the *calamities of authors* . . . all the perseverance of the antiquarian, and all the enthusiasm of the scholar . . . by examination you re-create . . . drawing new views and bold deductions . . . the most novel deductions . . . the most graceful truths . . . a deep and tender vein of sentiment . . . most touching conception of character . . . your charming lucubrations . . . those classical and most charming essays . . . every part is adorned . . . every page displays a beauty and none an impertinence . . . specimens of a great whole . . . to fill no inconsiderable vacuum in English literature . . . to add a permanent glory to the letters of your country ” . . . etc.—E. L. BULWER to I. D’Israeli.¹⁴

The *judicious* and *modest* Bulwer asserts that we have not *even secondary names in History*. Our Turners, our Lingards, our Hallams, our Southneys, our Tytlers, are beneath his notice! But, what an irradiation of panegyric on D’Israeli—and what bright

¹³ Pilgrim’s Progress. 1830. 8vo. Life of B. p. xcvi. ¹⁴ England, Book the fourth, *sparsim*.

beams of reflection may we not anticipate from a certain *history of our vernacular literature* !

In despair of being able to discover a choicer specimen, I shall conclude. It may be sufficient to state, for the information of those collectors who love method, that the results of their researches may be classed as *speculative* or *responsive*—*prompt* or *tardy*—*proportionate* or *disproportionate*—etc.

Perhaps it would be prudent to withhold this fragment of an article on *camaraderie littéraire* — as it may tend to deprive me of the *benefit of the act*. But, I owe it to the CHAIR in which I have the honor to sit ; and, besides, it arose out of the perusal of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

* * This article, says Mr. D'Israeli, “ calls for no remarks from me ;” but I cannot take leave of my fellow-traveller on the *highways and by-ways of literature* with the same abruptness.

Authors do not always perceive the real tendency of their genius. — Mr. D'Israeli declares, with reference to the final and most elaborate article in the *Curiosities of Literature*, that the feelings of Oldys “ echoed in his own bosom.” No two men of letters could be more unlike ! Oldys was a faithful and assiduous searcher after truth — but no artist in composition : Mr. D'Israeli very frequently sports with facts—but, in his *serene* moments, is a clever PHRASE-MAKER. Oldys constantly cited his authorities—and was perfectly unobtrusive : Mr. D'Israeli unfairly conceals his authorities — and is perpetually exhibiting himself in distortions, in misapplied sarcasm, and in witticism.

On no occasion have we better reason to expect a display of skill, than in this species of warfare. Mr. D'Israeli, it is evident, is proud of the success of his former encounters. He has now overshot the mark, and left himself defenceless.

He has set his seal to my estimate of his character; and has more than justified the tone of my criticisms. He has cast away his tact, his taste, and his temper—in order to *assert the dignity of his station*!¹⁵

And so concludes the series of articles. I have endeavoured to unite interest of subject with the charm of variety, and to avoid those inferior anecdotes which D'Israeli so pointedly calls *the very farthing pieces of history*! I could not undertake the interminable toil of a complete survey of the *Curiosities of Literature*; but I profess to sketch the general course and character of the stream—and to convey some notion of its *reaches*, of its *windings*, of its *shallows*, and of its *falls*. Objects out of number presented themselves to notice; and, even on the limited plan adopted, I have sometimes feared that—

“I more voluminous should grow
Than Holinshed or Stow.”

I now crave attention to a serious episode. CRITICISM is an *ungracious* task; and, on other accounts, one of the least attractive branches of authorship. It is an ungracious task; because the motives to it are often misinterpreted—especially by those who take

¹⁵ I. I., p. 1.

no real interest in the state of literature. It wants the predominant attraction of authorship; for works of occasional criticism, however executed, soon pass into comparative oblivion.

But criticism requires no advocacy. To LITERATURE we chiefly owe the formation of the national character; which in turn it faithfully reflects. It is the imperishable medal which transmits our features to the compatriot of every class — to the most distant climes—to the generations of futurity. It is the choicest species of national property; and whatever tends to preserve it from deterioration merits applause. Such is the object of criticism; and I am persuaded it would soon acquire dignity, if the public would cease to tolerate the deception and impertinence of the *invisible* piece-workers of the craft.

Criticism, properly exercised, is no other than the vindication of truth; but, however incontrovertible its importance, there is scope for variety of opinion on the mode of its application. Should its dictates be enforced by stern reprehension? Should they be clothed in such *holiday and lady terms* as scarcely imply censure? Is it allowable to introduce irony and sarcasm? The medicine, I conceive, should be suited to the nature of the complaint, and to the idiosyncrasy of the patient.

If truth seems to have presided—if we discover proofs of that care which the public claims—the faults arising from defective education, from the absence of experience, from the unobvious nature of the requisite authorities, or from the occasional urgency of despatch, should be pointed out with urbanity;

and the share of commendation which justice and candour demand, should be freely bestowed.

If an author has united the benefits of a careful education, of travel in foreign countries, of intercourse with men of letters, of access to the best depositories of books, of more than competence, and of an extended life of leisure, we may be allowed to raise our expectations; and to express our disappointment, should serious disappointment ensue, without peculiar reserve. If such an author, asserting a *pure love of literature*, solicits the patronage of the public — and returns it with the perversion of truth, with the most impudent pretences of discovery, with the most absurd errors, with perhaps the most extraordinary examples of the concentration of error which the wide field of error affords; if such an author, elated by the praise of those whose praise should stimulate to excellence, and by the imitative shouts of the periodicals, presumes to cast his censures and his ridicule on some of the most valuable writers which the nation claims; presumes to set criticism at defiance, to declare that “*praise cannot any longer extend his celebrity,*” and that “*censure cannot condemn what has won the reward of public favour*”—it can require no apology if a lover of truth and literature endeavours, by the most forcible means which he commands, to convince the public to what extent its confidence and its favors have been abused — if he endeavours to recover the author himself from that inebriated state which the fumes of excessive praise have produced — and to prevail on him to exercise those abilities which he unquestionably possesses, in a manner more

conducive to public utility and his own permanent reputation.

Such were the considerations which led to the composition of this volume. The history of it is correctly stated in the exordium, with the exception of what is obviously fictitious; one circumstance only requiring to be added. It was intended to be a mere squib — a hint to more competent critics — to which design its fanciful form seemed appropriate; but, before I could make much progress in it, the public voice had directed me to *England and the English*, by *Edward Lytton Bulwer, Esq., M.P.* — a work which, in spite of its occasional extravagances, has been read by thousands at home, and will often be appealed to abroad. I bore in remembrance that Milton, at no auspicious period, had described our nation as “*not beneath the reach of any point, the highest that human capacity can soar to;*” and could not but feel astonished at an attempt to estimate the *intellectual spirit of the time* in the shape of an act of homage to D’Israeli. This astonishment increased when I found him placed at the head of our miscellaneous writers — the vocabulary of eulogy almost exhausted in his favor — and a conspicuous station allotted to the *Curiosities of Literature*! The critical project forthwith assumed an importance which I had not before attached to it. I felt the necessity of exertion, the expediency of elaboration; and I conceived that by extending it, without altering its form, it might also serve as an exposition of the arts of the **POPULAR CLIQUE** — as a picture of the **WRITE-WITH-EASE SCHOOL OF LITERATURE**. *The what school of literature?* ex-

claims Bulwer. The phrase, it must be admitted, requires explanation; and with such explanation I shall conclude this episode.

The continental critics make perpetual allusions to the *classical* and *romantic* schools of literature. We have two similar schools of literature in England—the *classical* school, and the *write-with-ease* school.

An author of the *classical* school aims at perfection. He values Aristotle and Quintilian, because their precepts seem to rest on the eternal basis of reason and propriety. He admires the choicest works of antiquity, because they exemplify his ideas of excellence. When he undertakes to communicate information or amusement, he weighs the tendency of his project—matures the plan—and distributes in due proportion its subordinate parts. He appears before the public in his best attire. Is the object of his work matter of fact? He is convinced that there is nothing more beautiful than truth; and he spares no pains to attain it—suffers no prejudice to induce him to conceal it. Is it fiction? If he cannot reach its happier flights, he at least makes it subservient to the improvement of morals and taste. He feels that his native language has its peculiar character, and he respects it. He may not have been endowed with the richer gifts of nature; but he exerts himself to raise the public taste to that standard of excellence which studious reflection has led him to form. He considers quality as the test of authorship—as the only substantial claim to literary distinction.

An author of the *write-with-ease* school chiefly aims at popularity. He rejects the established rules of

art, and the models of antiquity, as incompetent guides in this age of exquisite intellectuality — as trammels which would rather spoil than improve his natural gait. The defects in the master-pieces of romantic literature he converts into precedents. When he projects a new work, he studies above all things the taste of the public — before whom he appears with as much ceremony as an *unwashed artificer*! Does he undertake matters of fact? Research is toilsome; and to compare the various authorities — to adjust their discrepancies — requires time. He therefore seeks ease and rapidity of execution in implicit confidence — aware, moreover, that reviewers are often very dim-sighted. Does he undertake *avowed* fiction? It is difficult to reach novelty of conception, and he substitutes for it novelty of form. He is sufficiently ambitious of smartness, and tricks out his native language with the cheap imported trumpery of a bazar. He may possess excellent abilities; but he writes *down* to the taste of the public. He considers quantity as the test of authorship — as the principal claim to literary distinction.

I do not exhibit the portraits of individuals, but a picture of the schools. The colouring is after nature; but perhaps the lights are too bright — the shadows rather too broad and deep. I add therefore, as an *inscription*, the chaste yet glowing sentence of M^{lle}. Louise Ozenne: “ Ne soyons jamais assez classiques pour réprover Shakspeare, assez romantiques pour réprover Racine; mais partout où nous sentirons se révéler le génie, que ce soit sous la forme idéale et

accomplie du classique ou sous la forme originale et variée du romantique, *préparons de l'encens et tressons des couronnes.*"

I resume the CHAIR, and proceed in my accustomed strain; in order that no *invisible* critic should have it in his power to twit me with—

" Infelix operis summâ, quia ponere totum
Nesciet."

An author whose work has reached its *ninth* edition, may be said to wear the chaplet of popularity. Dr. Mavor, I am aware, outlived the 250th edition of his *English Spelling-book*, and Mrs. Rundell now exults in the 60th of her *Domestic Cookery*; but, orthography is essential in times of refinement, and cookery is studied by all sensible persons as one of the *conservative* arts. On the other hand—as the substantial productions of literature are now more than ever attainable, the public would not so readily exchange the precious metals for *curiosities* if it did not place confidence in the dealer, and believe them to be genuine articles!

A *ninth* edition has been tacitly admitted. To speak accurately, one *sixth* portion of the work has reached its *ninth* edition. But even this is more than common success; and it leads me to offer some short suggestions on future editions.

I recommend, in the first instance, an *editio expurgata*, or *family edition*—the superintendence of which should be confided to the executors of the late Mr. Bowdler. The office would be no sinecure.

As a successor to the family edition, I propose an *illustrated edition*. To this should be prefixed *An*

Inquiry into the Literary Character of I. D'Israeli, Esq. (towards which I have furnished various hints) and a collection of TESTIMONIA, as is usual in classical publications. Some extra copies of the testimonia might be entitled *Specimens of Critical Sagacity*; and would form a valuable note-book for juvenile reviewers. The peculiar attention of the *editors* (for no *individual* could successfully illustrate a work to which a *host* of authors has contributed) would be further required; 1. On the citation of authorities. 2. On the translations. 3. On certain instances of metamorphosis, and 4. On typographic economy.

Master Purchas, the *unheard-of* traveller, justly condemns those writers who omit the citation of authorities—"as if their own assertion were sufficient authoritie in things borrowed." This omission on the part of D'Israeli should be supplied. The names of Huet, Ménage, etc. would occupy small space; and abbreviations might be devised for those of M. Amelot de la Houssaye, M. de Mazière Abbé de Monville, and M. de Vigneul-Marville *alias* Dom Bonaventure d'Argonne, Chartreux!

The chief varieties of translation have been commented on with ability by Lord Woodhouselee; but he omits *phonetic* translation—in which D'Israeli excels. It is an imitation of the sound and collocation of words, rather than of the sense. Ex. Gr. "The great and admirable *Voyages* [from Madrid to the Escorial etc.] of the King Mr. Philip."—"The inhabitants were *passed on* the edge of the sword,"—"It *altered* his health," etc. This mode of translation may eventually assimilate all languages; but, to

the lover of idiomatic purity—the occurrence of it is like the screech of an owl in the midst of an air by Grisi or Albertazzi.

Very curious specimens of metamorphosis occur in the *lively miscellany*—specimens which might have posed Peter Burman himself! Who has not heard of the learned antiquary M. Le Grand d'Aussy? Who but D'Israeli could metamorphose him into Le Grand d'Assoucy! I apprehend he means D'Assoucy, *empereur du burlesque*—the *pitoyable auteur* of whom said Boileau :—

“ Et, jusqu'à D'Assoucy, tout trouva des lecteurs.”

The disposition to provide *cheap literature* is one of the hopeful signs of the times. It prevails with our eminent biblioplists, and suits the public taste; but it requires to be met by expedients. Favorite phrases are found in all classes of composition—from the parliamentary speech of Her Most Gracious Majesty to the most trivial of critical essays. They save time to the composer, but waste that of the compositor. I therefore submit, as conducive to economy, that such phrases be prepared in *stereotype*. Ex. Gr. I HAVE DISCOVERED — I SHALL PRESERVE — SECRET HISTORY — IT IS SAID — MS. LETTER OF THE TIMES — *man of genius* — *flim-flams* — etc. I have also to advise the exclusion of the one thousand and one superfluous notes of admiration which *Master J*ust hath foisted into the volumes.

Voltaire observes, “ *On doit des égards aux vivants ; on ne doit aux morts que la vérité.*” I doubt the correctness of the maxim; but, whatever be the pungency of these illustrations, have avoided all infrac-

tion of it. D'Israeli shall bear me witness. "I enjoy," says he, dating from the SHADES — of Bradenham House, "a sort of *posthumous* reputation." The *defunct* author receives the precise amount of his claim, *la vérité* ; and, if I cannot call on him to *alter one sentence of what he has written* — I hope to have some influence with those who read for *facts*—and with future editors of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

It remains for me to announce the immediate vacation of the CHAIR ; and to commit the defence of my *sayings and doings* to other critics, their heirs and successors. To my patrons, some explanation is due. If I have ever felt ambition, it has been the ambition of authorship ; but, a more exact review of the state and prospects of literature has convinced me that *not to be an author* will soon be the chief mark of distinction ! It has convinced me that this once teachable nation is about to be transformed into a nation of authors — that her literature will become deteriorated in proportion to its over-production — that the vocation of the critic will resemble that of the most humble of parish functionaries—and that his labours will be just as effective in the prevention of offences !

Ideas on Controversy :

DEDUCED FROM THE PRACTICE OF A VETERAN ; AND ADAPTED
TO THE MEANEST CAPACITY.

“ To observe the ridiculous attitudes in which great men appear, when they employ the style of the fish-market, may be one great means of restraining that ferocious pride often breaking out in the republic of letters.”—I. D'ISRAELI.

I PERCEIVE signs of immediate warfare between *men of facts*, and *men of ideas* — between the *classical school*, and the *write-with-ease school*. Some hints on controversy may therefore be no inappropriate addition to this volume — the author of which first sounded the trump of alarm in the field of literature.

A *system* of tactics, adapted to the occasion, is an obvious desideratum ; but it should be based on the widest experience — and who can calculate the duration of the contest? Homer sings a war of ten years ; and Schiller records one of thirty years. It would be absurd, therefore, to speculate on the cessation of hostilities ; and injudicious to defer instruction on the score of its future perfectibility. The series of ideas now developed, if beneath the dignity of the theme, may have some utility as a rudimental

ESSAY ; and the *à propos* of its appearance may atone for its defects.

We are not entirely left to the exercise of our inventive faculties. A Veteran of celebrity — a *man of ideas* — has already astounded us by his movements ; and has evinced his familiarity with the numerous resources of stratagemical science. From his practice we deduce our precepts ; and thus, as a POPULAR author significantly remarks, we enable the reader to combine the *delight* which is derived from *anecdotes*, with the *philosophy* which is founded on *examples*.

Idea I. AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM IS AN APPROVED RULE IN AFFAIRS OF CONTROVERSY ; BUT IT IS SOMETIMES SLIGHTED. — If, therefore, the work of your opponent should be inaccessible to the public,¹ let the *reply* be made accessible.² Let its appearance be proclaimed in the *diurnals*, in the *hebdomadals*, etc. — and you may chance to obtain a *temporary* triumph.

Idea II. REMEMBER THAT “ IF A TITLE BE OBSCURE, IT RAISES A PREJUDICE AGAINST THE AUTHOR.”³ — The title of your pamphlet should beam with brightness. Adopt, for example, *The Illustrator Illustrated*. You have the authority of a late Professor of Criticism for the peculiar application of the word *illustrated* ; and of a late Professor of Poetry

¹ *Curiosities of Literature Illustrated*. Sm. 8vo. pp. 160.

² *The Illustrator Illustrated*. 1838. 8vo. pp. 81. ³ *Curiosities of Literature*. Ninth edition. ii. 60.

for the collocation of the triad of words—witness, *The Examiner Examined*.⁴ If *modesty* should induce you to conceal your name — say, *By the Author of * * **.

Idea III. REMEMBER ALSO THAT “A PREFACE, BEING THE ENTRANCE TO A BOOK, SHOULD INVITE BY ITS BEAUTY.”⁵—Introduce, in accordance with this judicious maxim, an eulogy on yourself: if ever we attain the *beautiful* in composition, it is when we endite *con amore*. Introduce also, in proof of your exquisite taste, a glowing review of some *illustrated* ornament of the *Bibliothèque du Monde*.⁶ It may even be stated, should such be the attractive fact, that you have sometimes *mused in silence and oblivion* between the Abbé de la Rue and John Pinkerton.⁷ If to proemial beauty you wish to add utility, censure your rivals. Perchance you deal in anecdote and literary history. Declare, in consequence, that Andrews is “too often trivial;” that Seward is “too often careless;” that Thomas Warton wrestled with “barren antiquarianism;” and that Joseph Warton had a “fragmentary mind.”⁸ If any one of your works should have been less successful than the others, announce the “severe accuracy” of its contents.⁹ Advert, in no equivocal terms, to the very curious synchronism — the dawn of “philosophical thinking,” and the dawn of your own lucubrations.¹⁰

Idea IV. SHOULD AFFAIRS BECOME SERIOUS, EN-

⁴ [By E. C.] Oxford, 1809. 8vo. pp. 57.

⁵ C. L., i. 103.

⁶ I. I., p. 2, etc. ⁷ Ibid. p. 5. ⁸ Ibid. p. 3. ⁹ Ibid. p. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 3.

DEAVOUR TO FORM A LITERARY UNION; AND TO CONCILIATE THE WAVERING SCRIBES.—Invoke the aid of Lucian and Erasmus¹¹—men of renown, and smart controversialists. Allude to your friendly colloquies with the learned Mr. D.¹²—though he *held you very lightly*. Celebrate the courtesy of Mr. T.¹³—though he may have chanced to disport himself on your *superficial research*, your *fits of affectation*, etc. Declare, in extra-pathetic phrase, that your sarcasm on Miss A. was a *congratulation*!¹⁴

Idea V. IN ADUMBRATING THE CHARACTER OF YOUR OPPONENT, ABSTAIN FROM EXCESSIVE FLATTERY.—Describe him as an “*obscure individual*.”¹⁵ this will enhance the value of your marvellous efforts to *illustrate* him; and may help to convince the public of his previous incapacity as an *illustrator*. Declare that he “never emancipates himself for an instant from his *morbid moroseness*.”¹⁶ this will stamp you as a *discoverer of that which no one else can discover*; and it must also inevitably reduce the circle of his readers—for we live in the age of *comic literature*! Call him a “solemn idiot,” an “atom of spite,” a “clod,”¹⁷ a “carl,”¹⁸ and complain of his “want of taste and mapners.”¹⁹ should he be a *bachelor*, he can never hope to *proceed*; and you may be sure his *book* will never become the *book of the boudoir*.

Idea VI. IF YOU ADDRESS THE LITERATE AND THE

¹¹ I. I., p. 12. ¹² Ibid. pp. 18, 22. ¹³ Ibid. p. 80.
¹⁴ Ibid. p. 27. ¹⁵ Ibid. p. 80. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 12. ¹⁷ Ibid.
p. 48. ¹⁸ Ibid. p. 2. ¹⁹ Ibid. p. 77.

REFINED, IT WOULD BE IMPOLITIC TO EXHIBIT YOUR OPPONENT AS VERY SENSIBLE TO THE MISFORTUNES OF GENIUS.—A censure has been lanced at your singular statement that Camoens “*perished* in a hospital:” declare, in consequence, that your “hypercritic cannot perceive the distinction between a natural cessation of life, and its extinction from want and misery.”²⁰ An exposure has been made of your numerous misrepresentations and errors on the poet Shenstone: declare that he had *many sorrows* — but that “it is not his least misfortune to have found a vindicator in Mr. * * *.” An exposure has been made of your sentimental fiction on the *public* ignition of the *Odes* of Collins: declare that your man of facts estimates “the agonies of a neglected poet at THE PRICE OF PRINT AND PAPER !”²² Such remarks place your opponent in no amiable light; and if they do not prove that you are a *brother of the craft*—at least prove that you can write prose *poetically*!

Idea VII. AN OVER-ANXIETY TO MULTIPLY CHARACTERISTICS, MAY BETRAY INTO UNINTENTIONAL EULOGY: “PRAY YOU AVOID IT.”—Do not, as a POPULAR writer once did, call your opponent a “man of facts:”²³ there are many readers who possess a certain genius for drawing comparisons. Do not call your opponent a “hammerer of dates:”²⁴ it is a maxim that chronology is one of the eyes of history. Avoid objecting against him that his head is

²⁰ I. I., p. 26.
pp. 10, 19, etc.

²¹ Ibid. p. 79.
²⁴ Ibid. p. 37.

²² Ibid. p. 66. ²³ Ibid.

unfit to "hold together *two opposite ideas* of the same thing:"²⁵ with reflecting persons, it may tend to obtain for him the character of a man of consistency. *Pray you* avoid remarking that no one can complain of "the *spangles* of his style:"²⁶ it may lead to the awkward inference that his style possesses some more substantial and valuable qualities.

Idea VIII. To OBVIATE MISCONCEPTION, FOREWARN THE INEXPERIENCED READER AS TO THE CRITICAL QUALIFICATIONS OF YOUR OPPONENT.—State, *in limine*, that neither his "habitual pursuits," nor his "native dispositions," fit him for the enterprise:²⁷ the less you know of him, the more decisive this evidence of your extraordinary penetration. Compare him to "Midas," with his erect auricles:²⁸ you may perhaps pass for another Apollo—at least, with those who believe in mythology. Pronounce him to be a "critical charlatan:"²⁹ the public, it may be said, is not always unfavorable to charlatans, critical or otherwise—but short is the period of their celebrity. Produce some striking instance of his want of literary taste. Assert, for example, that he "seems half inclined to criticise" *Don Quixote*:³⁰ you may surely avail yourself of *fiction*, when writing on so celebrated a work of fiction. It may also be advisable to apologize to the reader for your extreme condescension in holding "a branglement with a *wronghead*."³¹

²⁵ I. I., p. 46. ²⁶ Ibid. p. 80. ²⁷ Ibid. p. 2. ²⁸ Ibid. p. 30. ²⁹ Ibid. p. 74. ³⁰ Ibid. p. 32. ³¹ Ibid. p. 1.

Idea IX. AS AUTHORS ARE APT TO POETIZE IN THE STATEMENT OF THEIR MOTIVES, YOU MAY CONJECTURE THOSE OF YOUR ADVERSARY.—He may have pleaded a *love of truth and literature* ;³² pass over his plea in silence—for it is not to be conceived that *you* should sympathise with him in so romantic a notion ! Insinuate, rather, that he has failed in some attempt at authorship—and therefore turned critic :³³ this may pass as a proof of your incomparable acquaintance with the *secret history* of our *vernacular literature*. Denounce, in illustration of your beautiful theory, his “*rabid hatred* and ill-concealed jealousy” of popular writers :³⁴ should you be believed, he can have no chance of escape — but must fall, pierced by a hundred missiles.

Idea X. IN NOTICING THE WORK OF YOUR OPPONENT, YOU NEED NOT AIM AT THE MINUTE ACCURACY OF MERE BIBLIOGRAPHERS.—The *title* of his work may indicate no extreme respect for your own TITLES OF HONOR : modestly omit a certain portion of it — though it chance to destroy his physiognomic beauty.³⁵ You need not specify the *size* of his work : when you avoid affirmations, you also avoid error. Say you observe that “his *tract* is printed at Greenwich.”³⁶ this remark (which reminds us that his subject possesses *tractility*) will prove that you did not condescend to read on to the conclusion—witness the *colophon* : “London : F. Shoberl, Junior, Leicester Street, Leicester Square.”—As bibliography is made

³² C. L. I., *episode*. ³³ I. I., p. 77. ³⁴ Ibid. p. 77. ³⁵ Ibid. p. 1. ³⁶ Ibid. p. 81.

up of titles, sizes, colophons, etc. — and is one of the essentials of literary history — the public will no doubt be satisfied, from this specimen, of your incomparable qualifications for the projected *history of our vernacular literature*.

Idea XI. IN ADDITION TO YOUR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ELUCIDATIONS, YOU MAY CRITICALLY CHARACTERISE THE WORK OF YOUR OPPONENT. — State, exordially, that the produce of his *spare hours* occupied “*several years*.”³⁷ you reduce him to a mere plodder — envious of your distinction as the laureate essayist of half a century. Should he have pointed out *six* errors in a curiosity of *ten* lines³⁸—state, as the sole result of his labours, the detection of “half-a-dozen nullities!”³⁹ this will prove that you possess a sufficient share of erudition to write *synecdochichally*! State, in conclusion, that his criticism is conveyed “in language as mean as his subjects.”⁴⁰ the subjects being your own, it may seem like modesty to condemn; and your extra-ordinary tact in the appreciation of character, will be evident to those who are aware that the subjects are Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, Clarendon, Newton, Buffon, etc. In support of your censures on his “uncouth pen,” produce some glaring specimens. Suppose he should have said “*coeval* authorities,” when *you* think *contemporary* was the exclusive word: allude to this evidence of his non-synonymous genius at least three times.⁴¹ Suppose he should have said that “Burnet saw Mary once a week:” slyly convince him of your immense superio-

³⁷ I. I., pp. 12, 16.

³⁸ C. L. I., Art. 3.

³⁹ I. I., p. 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 80.

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 42, 51.

rity as a phrase-maker, by writing "Burnet visited her hebdomodally!"⁴² Suppose he should have said that Sir Walter Raleigh "did not *undervalue* the fidelity and varied attainments of Hariot": exclaim, "O thou appraiser of small wares!"⁴³ No one can be insensible to the peculiar felicity of this designation—when applied to the reviewer of the *Curiosities of Literature*.

Idea XII. IF CONVENIENT, YOU MAY AVAIL YOURSELF OF THE INFORMATION AFFORDED BY YOUR OPPONENT.—This practice, to view it favorably, is a covert compliment; and may serve to smoothe the asperities of warfare. I cannot, therefore, omit to notice it. Your opponent may have ascertained, at the expense of considerable research, that the Mss. of the Pantheists are "chiefly of the *fourteenth century*:"⁴⁴ repeat the statement as your own; and add, with suitable gravity, "This he ADMITS."⁴⁵ He may have said, on the authority of a *manuscript* note which chance threw in his way, that a certain anecdote on the poet Collins was recorded by Griffiths:⁴⁶ with the solemnity of a revealer of secrets — ascribe the same anecdote to *Griffiths*.⁴⁷ He may have enumerated the principal biographers of Sir Isaac Newton, assigning the *anonymous* articles to their respective authors:⁴⁸ repeat the names of Birch, Nicolls, etc., with all the imitative fidelity of one of the *psittacus* family!⁴⁹

⁴² I. I., p. 58. ⁴³ Ibid. p. 35. ⁴⁴ C. L. I., Art. 1. ⁴⁵ I. I., p. 14. ⁴⁶ C. L. I., Art. 22. ⁴⁷ I. I., p. 66. ⁴⁸ C. L. I., Art. 21. ⁴⁹ I. I., p. 63.

Idea XIII. AN ASSERTION NOT MATHEMATICALLY ACCURATE, MAY OCCASIONALLY BE MADE FOR THE SAKE OF EFFECT.—As this *idea* is familiar to the majority of controversialists, no accumulation of examples can be requisite — but its importance forbids me to pass it over in silence. Your opponent may have estimated the duration of the *popular feeling* on base testers at “about *eighteen* years:”⁵⁰ refer him to the *Remaines* of Camden; and declare, with all the confidence of a victor, that the learned historian informs us it was “*two hundred* years and more.”⁵¹ Your opponent may have twitted you on the statement that Philip III. of Spain died in the “twenty-fourth year of his age:”⁵² add, by way of explanation and *correction*, “For the word *age* read *reign*” — and appeal, in support of your *corrective* assertion, to *L’art de vérifier les Dates*.⁵³ If Master Camden⁵⁴ and Dom Clément⁵⁵ should chance to contradict you, the fact may escape detection — for who would disturb the *remains* of Camden on account of a base tester? — and it is certain that many readers, I might safely say the *fair* proportion, have an aversion to the *art de vérifier les dates*.

Idea XIV. A FACT OR ARGUMENT OF AN INCONVENIENTLY FORMIDABLE NATURE, MAY BE MET STRATAGEMICALLY.—In every species of controversy, there is scope for the exercise of stratagemical ingenuity. I shall draw two examples from one subject — premising that other subjects possess more fertility —

⁵⁰ C. L. I., Art. 3. ⁵¹ I. I., p. 21. ⁵² C. L. I., Art. 10.

⁵³ I. I., p. 43. ⁵⁴ Remaines, 1614. 4to. p. 208. ⁵⁵ A. V. D., 1770. p. 823.

and that the resources of the art are inexhaustible. Has your opponent denied the Florentine Ms. of the Pandects to be "*the original*?"⁵⁶ reply, that it "may be fairly styled *an original*."⁵⁷ Every one admits the utility of the exchange of *articles*! Has he laboured to prove the continued validity of the Roman law?⁵⁸ exclaim, "Who denies it?"⁵⁹ A bold question very often poses. It may escape recollection that Lord Kames says, *all the world* knows it was "*in oblivion* for ages."⁶⁰—Clever specimens of this description are sure to obtain extensive notice. The consuming classes of the community of literature are *collectors*, *readers*, and *students*. The mere *collectors* are out of the question. The *readers*, however, may give you credit for *ratiocinative ingenuity* — and the *students* cannot fail to observe your *stratagemical ingenuity*.

Idea XV. IN QUOTING YOUR OPPONENT, YOU MAY DEVIATE FROM THE RULES LAID DOWN BY THEORETICAL CRITICS.—"Nothing," says Franklin, "gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works *respectfully* quoted."⁶¹ Quote, nevertheless, your opponent: it is not probable that he will consider *his* case as within the category. Has he said that Herodotus "*incidentally* gives an excellent definition of history"?⁶² quote him, omitting the word *incidentally* — add that Herodotus *certainly never intended* it!⁶³ — and you make it appear that he has no extraor-

⁵⁶ C. L. I., Art. 1. ⁵⁷ I. I., p. 14. ⁵⁸ C. L. I., Art. 1.
⁵⁹ I. I., p. 16. ⁶⁰ Essays, 1749. 8vo. p. 15. ⁶¹ Works,
 1806. 8vo. iii. 453. ⁶² C. L. I., Art. 15. ⁶³ I. I., p. 50.

dinary skill in drawing an inference. Has he been compelled, by your whimsical circumlocution, to *assume* that the most agreeable book in the Spanish language means *El ingenioso hidalgo D. Quijote de la Mancha*?⁶⁴ pretend that he “consents to assume”—and infer that he is disposed to criticise that immortal work!⁶⁵ Has he said, in one of his *choicest* exordial paragraphs, “the other expedient may not be practicable. I promise, therefore, no more than a plain statement of facts”?⁶⁶ mar the quotation at pleasure⁶⁷—and you make it appear that he cannot write tolerable English, even when advancing towards a *plain statement of facts*! The difference between theory and practice, has been noticed by many a writer; and it is very obvious in controversial quotation. To conclude this *idea*, you

“May boldly deviate from the common track.”

Idea XVI. IF THE TEXT OF YOUR OPPONENT SHOULD BE UNSUITED TO FRAGMENTARY EXHIBITION, YOU MAY SUPPLY ITS DEFICIENCIES BY INVENTION. — On a subject which requires *invention*, no precepts can have the force of examples. I commence, therefore, with examples: “I’ll have our Michael Cassio on the hip!”⁶⁸—“by this *distinguished* member of the society of English Bibliophiles.”⁶⁹ — “Your fifty years are reduced to eighteen!”⁷⁰ — “I deny the sentinel,”⁷¹ — “I deny the mace; ’tis no mace; ’tis a staff.”⁷² Such *inventive* efforts may seem to prove

⁶⁴ C. L. I., Art. 8. ⁶⁵ I. I., p. 32. ⁶⁶ C. L. I., Art. 14.

⁶⁷ I. I., p. 48. ⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 19. ⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 51. ⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 21. ⁷¹ Ibid. p. 18. ⁷² Ibid. p. 17.

that your opponent is another Iago — that he has no small share of conceit — no small share of asperity and petulance. In short, the reader may fancy him to resemble the critic so strikingly portrayed by Mr. Alfred Crowquill.

Idea XVII. IN QUOTING YOUR OWN WORKS, YOU ARE AT LIBERTY TO INTRODUCE ANY CONVENIENT EMENDATIONS.—The maxim that *we may do as we like with our own* is so extensively adopted, that it may appear superfluous to assert its applicability to quotation—but, as this essay is the only didactic work on controversy, and should therefore be complete in all the divisions and sub-divisions of the art, I resolve to furnish a specimen. Suppose you had said that Lady G—, who was in reality a “*most excellent person,*” had “no conception of the dignity of the female character, *the claims of virtue, and the duties of honour.*”⁷³ You may have an unconquerable aversion to apologies; but should the daring fiction have been sharply censured⁷⁴—you may alter the punctuation, omit the more offensive parts, and quote it thus: “she had no conception of the dignity of the female character.”⁷⁵

Idea XVIII. A FACT OR ARGUMENT WHICH CANNOT BE MET WITH ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS, SHOULD BE EVADED.—Is evasion a part of controversy? The question has been proposed; but not decided. *For the nones*, as Master Chaucer saith—it may be allowable to assume an affirmative decision.—Odon, you

⁷³ C. L., iv. 27.

⁷⁴ C. L. I., Art. 20.

⁷⁵ I. I., p. 61.

have asserted, bore a mace at the battle of Hastings that "he might *not spill blood, but only break bones!*"⁷⁶: it would be useless to explain; for your critic is evidently an over-grave person—quite insensible to the charms of flippancy! You have stated, in support of one of your pretended *discoveries*, that Vasari was "a *mere painter and goldsmith:*"⁷⁷ to yield so capital a point may be a provoking alternative; but do not attempt a defence — for the fiction is utterly indefensible. You have ascribed to John Stow, the narrative of Edmond Howes—and on this error have built one of your exquisite *philosophical* reflections:⁷⁸ submit in silence to the censure of your critic — to his impertinence on *thrusts and blows*, on *edible curiosities*, etc. — for the error did not become a F.S.A. ! You believe that "Garth did not write his own Dispensary" — and projecting a similar discovery on Raleigh, have pretended to learn from a Ms. that he "often consulted Hoskins on his literary works:"⁷⁹ bear with patience the taunts of your opponent—and forbear all allusion to the Ms! You have been detected in offering the *print* of Tom Hearne, as a *manuscript curiosity* from the Ashmoléan Museum; and in various errors of transcription:⁸⁰ evade the serious charge — entitle your article BLACK-LETTER DATES — and crave mercy for "mis-copying the black-letter numerals." You have been censured for presuming to try one of your *philosophical* experiments on the character of Queen Mary II.:⁸¹ pass over the charge of *deception, invention*, etc. — and en-

⁷⁶ C. L., i. 246. ⁷⁷ Ibid. v. 236. ⁷⁸ Ibid. i. 330. ⁷⁹ Ibid. v. 234. ⁸⁰ C. L. I., Art. 18. ⁸¹ Ibid. Art. 19.

deavour to amuse the reader with remarks on *hebdomodal visits, self-artists, miniatures, pictures large as life*, etc. You have assumed the inability of a celebrated *literary antiquary*, on whose *life and habits* you profess to have made *arduous inquiries*, to execute a work which he never projected⁸²—in order to magnify your own merit on the score of a similar work which you have had the temerity to announce: this may have been a very clever device; but pass over it in silence—for it cannot now be the most gratifying article in your *retrospective review*. You have exhibited an unparalleled assemblage of misrepresentation and error on the poet Shenstone:⁸³ you may not be able to produce a defence — but you can supply its place by vague remarks on the *evidences of genius*, the *psychology of genius*, the *calamities of genius*, etc. Your opponent has too accurately stated the amount of your claims to *discovery*;⁸⁴ he has named the proprietors of some of those ornaments which you have been accustomed to display on the promenade of literature;⁸⁵ he has disclosed a portion of the secrets of that art which you have most intensely studied — the art of acquiring popularity.⁸⁶ The facts cannot be denied: they must be *evaded*. Declare that the essays in which they appear—*call for no remarks*!⁸⁷—The applicative nature of these specimens is almost beyond question; and I seem to hear the reader exclaim, “How incomplete would this *Hand-book for Controversialists* have been—if the author had *evaded* the subject of EVASION!”

⁸² C. L., vi. 391. ⁸³ Ibid. v. 173-91. iv. 353-9. ⁸⁴ C. L. I., Art. 28. ⁸⁵ Ibid. Art. 29. ⁸⁶ Ibid. Art. 30. ⁸⁷ I. I., p. 77.

Idea XIX. AS ERRORS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION MAY BE COMMITTED, IT IS DESIRABLE TO ACQUIRE A FACILITY IN EVERY SPECIES OF PALLIATION. — According to the Welsh Triads, there are three *excuses* for remitting punishment: there are certainly three species of palliation. 1. Palliation proper—in which the error is reduced to its lowest denomination. 2. Palliation reflective—in which the blame is laid on another person. 3. Palliation extraordinary—in which it is converted into self-laudation. 1. Palliation proper.—You have been censured for calling the *Pandects* of Justinian, the *Code*:⁸⁸ if, perchance, a D.C.L. — call it “a mistake which it required no very recondite erudition to correct.”⁸⁹ You have been censured for naming a French ambassador *Villeroy*—instead of De Beaumont:⁹⁰ declare, at the hazard of retaliation, that the “name is wholly insignificant.”⁹¹ You have been censured for antedating the *most agreeable book in the Spanish language*, by a *quarter* of a century; and for shifting the site of its composition to another *quarter* of the world:⁹² compare the censure of these ENORMOUS errors, to the *cannonade of a sparrow on a chimney-top*.⁹³—The pertinency of these examples seems to obviate the necessity of addition or illustration. 2. Palliation reflective.—You have been censured for some palpable error on Philip III. of Spain:⁹⁴ call it a *clerical error*⁹⁵—and the censure may fall on your amanuensis. You have been censured for describing a tester which no one ever saw:⁹⁶ it may have been

⁸⁸ C. L. I., Art. 1.⁸⁹ I. I., p. 13.⁹⁰ C. L. I., Art. 6.⁹¹ I. I., p. 28.⁹² C. L. I., Art. 8.⁹³ I. I., p. 31.⁹⁴ C.

L. I., Art. 10.

⁹⁵ I. I., p. 43.⁹⁶ C. L. I., Art. 3.

an *erratum* of your intellectuals — but transfer it to your typographer.⁹⁷ You have been censured for denying the existence of some information in the celebrated work of Tiraboschi:⁹⁸ expose the imperfection of the index⁹⁹ — and the censure may fall on the index-maker. The amanuensis, the typographer, and the index-maker, may be left to conduct their own defence. 3. Palliation extraordinary. — To convert palliation into self-laudation is one of the master-strokes in the art of controversy. I shall produce two examples. You have been censured for recording an obvious *fiction* as *literary history*:¹⁰⁰ declare that you were “guided by a *right feeling*.”¹⁰¹ You have been censured for some *metallographic* absurdity:¹⁰² attribute it to the “wantonness of an improvident *fancy*.”¹⁰³ The reader may infer, and the inference cannot but advance your palliative efforts, that the man who possesses *right feeling* and *fancy* — could only have been censured by one who possesses neither! — Perfect accuracy is scarcely attainable by mortals; and you will no doubt receive the thanks of men of letters, for discovering such ingenious excuses for fallibility.

Idea XX. WITH A VIEW TO KEEP YOUR OPPONENT IN A STATE OF CRITICAL ALARM, YOU SHOULD OCCASIONALLY ENIGMATIZE.—He may have written a meek dissertation on “some rude and faded needle-work:”¹⁰⁴ predict that it will turn out a “serious affair for him” — and that “he will find the *remnants flutter about*

⁹⁷ I. I., p. 21. ⁹⁸ C. L. I., Art. iv. ⁹⁹ I. I., p. 24. ¹⁰⁰ C. L. I., Art. 8. ¹⁰¹ I. I., p. 33. ¹⁰² C. L. I., Art. 3. ¹⁰³ I. I., p. 20. ¹⁰⁴ C. L. I., Art. 2.

him."¹⁰⁵ He may have written a somewhat-quizzing-but-certainly-sufficiently-methodical essay on a teston of Henry VIII. :¹⁰⁶ pretend that Camden nods assent to your superior numismatic information; and after adverting to an *illustrative* essay by the learned Douce, say that you "might add something which Mr. * * * shall not at present learn."¹⁰⁷ Such expedients, however, should be resorted to very cautiously. It may lead your opponent to produce some potent testimonials in favor of his meek dissertation—to call in Camden, who may horizontally shake his venerable beard at you—and to announce the existence of a critical sentence touching a certain POPULAR writer, "which Mr. * * * shall not at present learn."

Idea XXI. THE POINTS WHEREON YOU MAY HAVE BEEN CRITICISED RATHER TWITTINGLY, SHOULD BE CAREFULLY NOTED WITH A VIEW TO RETALIATION.—Your opponent may have named you the "*lively author*:"¹⁰⁸ represent him as an enemy to that "*vivacity* which displays all things in their true shape."¹⁰⁹ He may have called you, in his ironic way, the *Columbus of literary history*;¹¹⁰ and may have alarmingly thinned the ranks of your *discoveries*: declare, on some topic which he has *right seriously and amply discussed*,¹¹¹ that he has "only revealed a circumstance to be found in the *most common sources*."¹¹² He may have censured your "embellishment of facts," and non-citation of authorities:¹¹³ denounce

¹⁰⁵ I. I., p. 18. ¹⁰⁶ C. L. I., Art. 3. ¹⁰⁷ I. I., p. 22. ¹⁰⁸ C. L. I., *exordium*, etc. ¹⁰⁹ I. I., p. 11. ¹¹⁰ C. L. I., Art. 8.
¹¹¹ Ibid. Art. 11. ¹¹² I. I. p. 45. ¹¹³ C. L. I., *exordium & episode*.

him as a "man who has nothing but facts in his head,"¹¹⁴ and censure the "*parade* of his authorities."¹¹⁵ He may have made some sarcastic remark on your "*spangled phraseology*:"¹¹⁶ proclaim, to the whole *République des Lettres*, his "thoroughly ungentlemanlike style."¹¹⁷ He may have cited your metrical attempts in order to shew, by *sly italics*, that every line had its fault:¹¹⁸ remark, on some poem which exhibits *wit and airy grace*, that it could not have been written by "any of the ancestors of *his* family!"¹¹⁹ He may have repeatedly exposed your bibliographical superficiality:¹²⁰ retort that he "can work and wriggle his way through a priced catalogue as well as any other brother grub."¹²¹

Idea XXII. ON THE SUBJECTS WHICH YOU HAVE MAL-TREATED MOST EGREGIOUSLY, YOU SHOULD ANSWER YOUR OPPONENT MOST TRIUMPHANTLY.—The more ineffectual your means of defence, the more urgent the necessity of exertion; and the more audacious your statements, the better the chance of their being credited by the *most thinking people*! Suppose that, in writing on Spanish history, you have given an absurd fiction as an authentic anecdote; and have abbreviated the life of a monarch by some twenty years.¹²² Suppose, moreover, that your opponent should have censured these misdoings:¹²³ draw him at your chariot wheels over three pages of sarcasm!¹²⁴ Suppose that, in writing on *La Guir-*

¹¹⁴ I. I., p. 9.¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 45, 80.¹¹⁶ C. L. I., Art. 14.¹¹⁷ I. I., p. 43.¹¹⁸ C. L. I., *exordium*.¹¹⁹ I. I., p. 61.¹²⁰ C. L. I., Arts. 7, 24, etc.¹²¹ I. I., p. 69.¹²² C. L., i.

285.

¹²³ C. L. I., Art. 10.¹²⁴ I. I., p. 41, etc.

lande de Julie, you have unadvisedly attempted to historise, to ratiocinate, to *sentimentalize*¹²⁵—and that your failure in every attempt has been made evident :¹²⁶ represent your opponent as an idiotic plodder, and ask, “ what business has *Clod* with Cupids and Zephyrs ?”¹²⁷

Idea XXIII. IN THE ABSENCE OF FACTS, THE TRUE FABULUM OF RATIOCINATION, IT MAY BE EXPEDIENT TO VITUPERATE.—In this branch of controversy, no art can equal the gift of nature — but some short instructions may be desirable. Should you, for instance, have occasion to introduce the obnoxious word *rascal* — add, “ observe, Mr. * * *, *rascal* !”¹²⁸ If your opponent should have declined to repeat the obvious *error* of some noted author whose work he had avowedly consulted, you may style him a “ *vile suppressor of evidence*.”¹²⁹ You cannot, without a manifest violation of zoological nomenclature, expressly call a biped by the name of a quadruped — but you may *intimate* that your opponent, with certain *charming lucubrations* before him, resembles a “ *pig in a drawing room*.”¹³⁰ You may also intimate, as a contrast to this unseemly figure, and in proof of your command over the more lofty species of invective imagery, that he is a “ WILD CAT OF THE MOUNTAINS !”¹³¹ To multiply examples, might be an infringement of copyright. It is sufficient to state that a mere controversial pamphlet may be made to serve as a VITUPERATIVE VOCABULARY !

¹²⁵ C. L., i. 363, etc.

¹²⁶ C. L. I., Art. 14.

¹²⁷ I. I., p.

48. ¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 28.

¹²⁹ Ibid. p. 21.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 8.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 80.

Idea XXIV. A CONTROVERSIAL PERORATION SHOULD BE COINED IN TERMS AT ONCE ORNATE AND STRIKING. —It is pitiable to compare (as the ghost of Samuel Johnson sagaciously remarks) “incipient grandeur with final vulgarity.”¹³² The reader should not be exposed to the sensation—nor should his opinions be allowed to vibrate between the *victor* and the *victim*. To obviate such casualties, the resources of art should be called into employ. Throw out, accordingly, a premonitory hint on the success of your encounters with “some of the pride of chivalry:” it will be easy to anticipate the result of a tilt with a *carl* in a “leathern jerkin.”¹³³ As you appropinquate the moment which is to decide the fate of your opponent, it may be advisable to give further *note of preparation* by stating that his criticism “is a nuisance in literary controversy, and required abatement.”¹³⁴ You may then declare, with the solemnity due to so important an occasion, that you have placed him *hors de combat* — or if you are anxious to express the idea with perfect originality, and with all the charm of vernacular elegance, say that “*he has not a leg left to stand upon.*”¹³⁵

Idea XXV. IT IS CONSOLATORY TO BELIEVE THAT “EVERY WORK MUST BE JUDGED BY ITS DESIGN.”—And now, Mr. D’Israeli, I shall epitomise the rules of controversy as deduced from your latest work—*The Illustrator Illustrated*. ¶ You may ascribe the meanest motives to your opponent, without a

¹³² Rejected Addresses, Art. 10. ¹³³ I. I., p. 2. ¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 80. ¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 81.

shadow of authority; you may mis-state facts with reckless effrontery; you may introduce falsified and *fictitious* quotations; you may have recourse to the most contemptible evasion; you may abuse with all the virulence of a charlatan who has been unexpectedly deprived of his mask—if the *design* of your work is “TO ASSERT THE DIGNITY OF YOUR STATION.”¹³⁶

Bolton Corney.

Greenwich, 31 July 1838.

¹³⁶ I. I., p. 1.

“It is not in the power of thought to conceive or words to express the contempt I have for you, Mr. D’Israeli.”—

RICHARD PORSON, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge.

THE END.

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